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PRESS COMMENTS ON POLISH WORKERS' CONGRESS

AU141502 Sofia BTA in English 1430 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] Sofia, 14 Jul (BTA)--In the day of the opening of the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party all national dailies here carry long reports by their special correspondents in Warsaw and numerous BTA dispatches.

BTA special correspondents D. Shishamanov and V. Karaivanov and BTA regular correspondent in Warsaw K. Iliev write that the precongress annual conventions have been carried out in a complicated atmosphere of internal tension and acute class political struggles, under the pressure exercised by the internal and external anti-socialist forces. A wide-scale campaign has been unfolded for slandering and discrediting the loyal to the party and socialism cadres in order to remove them from the leaderships of the local party organizations and bar them from being elected deputies.

"The battle of the healthy forces in the Polish United Workers' Party and in the Polish society, of the Polish working people against the offensive of the antisocialist elements, who are trying to erode and destabilize the party, will continue at the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party and after the congress, underline the BTA correspondents. The future of the Polish United Workers Party and of socialist Poland will depend on the outcome of this battle.

Kolyu Kolev, RABOTNICHESKO DELO special correspondent to Warsaw and the paper's regular correspondent Angel Bonev write of the strong ideological subversion to which the Polish society has been submitted since July-August last year. They stress that such specialized and well-trained anticommunist propaganda centres as "Free Europe", "The Voice of America" and "Deutsche Welle" and such news agencies as the ASSOCIATED PRESS have already poured out volumes of commentaries, analyses, prognostications and "facts". The journalists also point out that these centers use some out of date theories as the one of the "pluralistic society", other "models of socialism" and open anti-Soviet propaganda.

"The ideological erosion is destroying the values of the society and trying to replace them with fakes," note the authors. "It is important for the antisocialist forces in this case to confuse the people, to disorient them, to fan out anarchy dubbing it 'freedom'".

The correspondents of RABOTNICHESKO DELO underline that the ideology and publicistics have long ago become a frontline. A frontline which will not stand withdrawal, moreover, one which calls for a battle of selflessness.

The 9th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party will sit in an atmosphere of social instability, of tension, of economic recession resulting from the planned and organized purposeful moves of the adversaries of socialism, states the special correspondent of OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Warsaw Vasil Gadjan . He notes that the antisocialist forces, which are now in full offensive on all fronts, are fortifying steadily their positions and are working actively for the exacerbation of the crisis, for weakening the Polish United Workers Party as the leading force of the Polish society, for distorting its Marxist-Leninist character.

The correspondent of OTECHESTVEN FRONT writes of his meetings with nonparty members and communists who are full of determination of fight, to defend the socialist achievements of the country, people who insist on ending the concessions and havoc, people who want to close their ranks for an attack against reaction. These people expect very much from the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party.

ECONOMIC COOPERATION AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH USSR

AU141901 Sofia BTA in English 1835 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] Sofia, 14 Jul (BTA)--In the next 5 years in Bulgaria there are going to be built 123 industrial enterprises and process lines with the technical assistance of the Soviet Union. This is provided under the agreement signed here today by the Governments of Bulgaria and the USSR.

The Soviet Union will render assistance in the construction of power capacities for the atomic power generation and thermal power generation, of projects of the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, of the chemical and petrochemical industry, of coal obtaining and so on.

The total value of the deliveries for complete projects and process lines will exceed 1.4 billion roubles. This figure outruns the cost of the equipment delivered from the USSR in the last 5 years.

The agreement was signed by Mr Khristo Khristov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign trade, and Mr Semen Skachkov, chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations of the USSR.

Today Mr Semen Skachkov was received by Mr Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of Bulgaria's Council of Ministers. They had talks on the cooperation in the building of complex projects. Other economic matters were also reviewed.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON NIGERIAN'S VISIT PUBLISHED

AU131725 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Buglarian 9 Jul 81 pp 1,2

["Text" of joint Bulgarian-Nigerian communique on the 6-8 July visit to Bulgaria of Prof Ishay Audu, minister of foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria]

[Text] At the invitation of Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, from 6 to 8 July Prof Ishaya Audu, minister of foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, paid an official visit to Bulgaria.

Prof Ishaya Audu, minister of foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, laid a wreath at the mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov, leader and teacher of the Bulgarian people and a prominent figure of the international communist and workers' movement, and paid respects to his coffin.

Minister Ishaya Audu was received by Todor Zhvikov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The Nigerian foreign minister was acquainted with some of Sofia's cultural and historic sites.

The ministers of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Federal Republic of Nigeria had official talks at which the state of the two countries' relations and the prospects for their development were reviewed. They exchanged information on the situation in the two countries and the tasks which are being solved now, as well as opinions on some topical international issues. The talks took place in an atmosphere of friendship, mutual respect and understanding.

The two ministers reviewed the state and prospects of development of Bulgarian-Nigerian cooperation in the political, economic, scientific-technical and cultural spheres, and noted with great satisfaction that this cooperation has dynamically developed in recent years, especially after the 1978 visit to Nigeria of Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the Bulgarian State Council. Profoundly evaluating the successes which have been achieved, the two ministers expressed their governments' determination to expand and strengthen the existing friendly relations on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, in the interest of the prosperity of the Bulgarian and Nigerian peoples.

In this context, an agreement was reached to conduct political consultations between the two countries on matters of bilateral relations and international matters of joint interest, as well as to expand cooperation in the framework of the United Nations organization and the other international organizations and forums.

The two ministers confirmed their countries' will to develop and diversify their traditional trade exchange, and search for even more effective forms of complex economic and scientific-technical cooperation on a long-range basis, in the area of production sharing, and especially to expand the number and areas of activity of the joint Bulgarian-Nigerian organizations. They noted with satisfaction the successful first session of the joint Bulgarian-Nigerian commission on economic and scientific-technical cooperation, and the significance of the agreements on expanding cooperation which had been reached at the session.

The two ministers assessed with satisfaction the ascending development of cultural cooperation between Bulgaria and Nigeria. A joint willingness to further expand cultural contacts and to diversify them was expressed. This will contribute to mutually acquainting the Bulgarian and Nigerian peoples with each other, with their history, culture and achievements.

Minister Ishaya Audu greeted the Bulgarian people on Bulgaria's 1,300th anniversary.

The two ministers reviewed a number of important and topical issues on the international situation. It was noted with satisfaction that the positions of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Federal Republic of Nigeria are identical or similar.

The two sides expressed concern with the continuing exacerbation of the international situation. They confirmed their determination to cooperate for strengthening peace and security and for taking decisive measures to stop the arms race, for disarmament, to continue the process of detente and to liquidate the hotbeds of tension throughout the world.

They agreed to contribute further to rallying all progressive anti-imperialist, anticolonial and antiracist forces to foil the aggressive plans and acts of imperialism and racism.

The two countries attribute great significance to the problem of disarmament, and expressed their support for the proposals for negotiations on the issues of disarmament and improving the international climate.

The sides noted with satisfaction the postive role of the Helsinki conference Final Act. They expressed hope that the Madrid meeting will produce constructive results in the interest of strengthening peace and security, developing cooperation and expanding the process of detente by reaching an agreement on convening a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe.

The two sides stressed the great importance of the efforts of all peace-loving countries for preserving and strengthening detente and peace, disarmament, increasing mutual confidence and understanding between countries with different social systems, and strengthening security and cooperation in Europe and the world.

They discussed with great attention the situation on the African continent. The two sides expressed total support and solidarity with the struggle of the African peoples against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid, and for freedom, independence and social progress.

The two ministers highly evaluated the active and important role and actions of the OAU in the struggle for liquidating the last remnants of colonialism and racism on the continent, for strengthening political and economic independence and for peace, understanding and cooperation among the African states.

The two sides condemned the criminal policy of apartheid, pursued by the racist regime of South Africa, positively evaluated the contribution of the fighters for human dignity and racial equality in South Africa, and called for even more active and decisive international efforts for quickly achieving independence and justice for South Africa's native population.

The two countries expressed their total solidarity with the struggle of the Namibian people for independence, under the leadership of SWAPO [South West African People's Organization]--the only legal representative of the Namibian people--and demanded putting an end to the illegal occupation of this country's territory by the South African Republic. They demanded the immediate and unconditional application of the UN decisions on Namibia, aimed at the complete independence of this territory. In this context they categorically condemned the maneuvers and intrigues of the neocolonial forces supporting the South African racist regime aimed at delaying the process of giving independence to Namibia and imposing a neocolonial solution of the Namibian problem, in complete contradiction to the interests of the people. They demanded imposing comprehensive sanctions on the South African Republic with the aim of securing Namibia's independence as soon as possible.

The two sides condemned the permanent aggressive acts of South Africa against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Republic of Mozambique and the Republic of Zambia, and expressed their total support and solidarity with the struggle of these friendly countries against the aggressors.

The two ministers expressed their concern with Israel's new aggressive acts against Lebanon and Iraq, which dangerously exacerbated the Middle East crisis and increased the danger to peace in this region and the world. They confirmed their countries' position that a just and lasting peace can only be reached after the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, and restoring the legal rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to self-determination and to create their own state, as well as securing conditions for all peoples in the region, including the people of Israel, to live in peace and security. They expressed their conviction that it is necessary to convene an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all interested sides, including the Palestinians, represented by the PLO.

The two sides voiced support for stopping the Iranian-Iraqi conflict and solving the disputed issued through negotiations.

The two sides confirmed their support of the principles and goals of the United Nations, incorporated in its charter, and highly evaluated its efforts for preserving peace and improving the international climate. The two ministers highly evaluated the active role of the nonaligned countries' movement for decreasing international tension, as well as its struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism and apartheid and for strengthening national independence, peace and social progress.

Touching on internatinal economic relations, the two ministers expressed their conviction that it is necessary to continue the efforts for reconstructing these relations on a just basis and creating a new and just international economic order.

Ishaya Audu, minister of foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, expressed deep gratitude to Petur Mladenov, Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs, for the outstanding reception and generous hospitality accorded to him and those accompanying him. He invited the Bulgarian foreign minister to pay Nigeria an official visit. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction. The date will be determined later through diplomatic chanels.

Sofia, 8 July 1981.

MINISTER OF POWER SUPPLY GOES TO TURKEY

TA150603 Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish 0430 GMT 15 Jul 81

[Text] Bulgarian Minister of Power Supply Nikola Todoriev last night arrived in Turkey on an official visit. Cooperation in the energy field between the two countries will be discussed in talks to be held between Energy and Natural Resources Minister Serbulent Bingol and Todoriev, who leaves Istanbul for Ankara today. Todoriev will also hold talks with other officials in Ankara.

IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY DELEGATION ARRIVES 14 JULY

AU141917 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] Sofia, 14 Jul (BTA)--A delegation of the Central Committee [CC] of the Iraqi Communist Party, led by Mr 'Aziz Mohammad, first secretary of the CC of the party, arrived here today at the invitation of the CC of the BCP. At Sofia Airport the delegation was welcomed by Mr Peko Takov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, and Mr Milko Balev, BCP CC secretary.

The delegation of the CC of the Iraqi Communist Party which includes also Mr (Bakir Ibrahim), member of the Politburo of the CC of the Iraqi Communist Party, had talks with a delegation of the CC of the BCP led by Mr Peko Takov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP. On the Bulgarian side the talks were attended also by Mr Milko Balev, BCP CC secretary. During the talks, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, information was exchanged on the two parties' activity at the present stage and topical problems of the international situation, and the international communist and workers' movement were discussed.

STOICHKOV-LED DELEGATION LEAVES FOR IRAQ

AU150817 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 15 Jul 81

[Text] A Bulgarian party-government delegation led by Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, has left for Iraq to attend the celebrations devoted to the Iraqi national holiday--revolution day. At Sofia Airport the delegation was seen off by Stanish Bonev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and by high-ranking officials of the BCP Central Committee.

ZHIVKOV GREETS SRV PRESIDENT ON ELECTION

AU131259 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Jul 81 pp 1,2

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman, has sent the following message to Truong Chinh, chairman of the SRV State Council.

Dear Comrade Truong Chinh, on behalf of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and on my personal behalf, please accept cordial greetings on your election as chairman of the SRV State Council, as well as best wishes for good health and success in this highly responsible state post.

I take this opportunity to express my firm conviction that the fraternal relations between our countries and peoples, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, will constantly develop and strengthen for the benefit of the Bulgarian and Vietnamese peoples, and in the interest of strengthening the unity and cohesion of the socialist community and defending world peace and security.

FILIPOV GREETS SRV PREMIER ON ELECTION

AU131300 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Jul 81 p 2

[Text] Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, has sent the following message to Pham Van Dong, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers:

Dear Comrade Pham Van Dong, on the occasion of your reelection as chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, please accept most cordial greetings and wishes for good health and success in your highly responsible office.

I take this opportunity to express my deep conviction that the traditional friendship and cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the SRV will continue to develop and enrich for the benefit of our two peoples and in the interest of the cause of peace and socialism.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY REPLY TO SOVIET APPEAL

AU101313 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Jul 81 p 1

["Declaration of the National Assembly of the Bulgarian People's Republic in Reply to the Appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet to the Parliaments and Peoples of the World"]

[Text] The National Assembly of the Bulgarian People's Republic ardently supports and wholeheartedly subscribe, to the appeal issued by the USSR Supreme Soviet to the parliaments and the peoples of the world.

This appeal is another convincing document demonstrating the peace-loving Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet state and the peace program adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress. It is an insistent appeal to all the peoples, an appeal issued in an atmosphere of exacerbating political tension in the world created by the aggressive imperialist circles. It is an appeal that reflects the Soviet people's profound solicitude for the fate of all mankind and the consistent efforts exerted by the Soviet Union in taming the war lovers and saving the world from a thermonuclear catastrophe.

The National Assembly of the Bulgarian People's Republic unanimously shares the conclusion that the main task of our times must consist of taking immediate and active steps against the arms race, for disarmament and for strengthening international security. Without reservation, we join in the appeal issued by the USSR Supreme Soviet to the legislative organs of all other countries, urging them to decisively take a stand in favor of negotiations in order to prevent a new stage in the nuclear missile arms race. Today there is no other, and there can be no other reasonable way of solving all disputed issues, as complicated as they may be, except the way of dialogue and negotiations, honest and equal negotiations without any preliminary conditions or attempts at dictating conditions, negotiations which take into account the equal security of all nations.

In view of the increased military danger and arms race there is no place for fence-sitters and indifferent observers. Today, 40 years after the insidious attack on Hitler's fascism against the Soviet state, the stern lesson of history teaches us: such a tragedy must not be allowed to repeat itself.

We are deeply convinced that the parliaments--bodies that have been elected by the people and are acting on their behalf--will give a positive reply to the appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet and will cooperate in eliminating the danger that is threatening the whole planet. We are convinced that all those who cherish peace, security and the happy future of mankind will contribute their share to the struggle aimed at preventing a new world war.

The National Assembly, in keeping with the Constitution, will continue to cooperate in consolidating world peace and in bringing about understanding among nations. Letting itself be guided by the decision of the 20th BCP Congress, the Bulgarian People's Republic--together with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, as well as all the other peace-loving countries of the world--will continue to make constructive contributions toward stabilizing detente and consolidating the security and cooperation among the peoples of the Balkans, Europe and the whole world.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE REPORT TO POLISH CONGRESS VIEWED

LD142010 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The ninth congress of the Polish United Workers' Party is taking place under extraordinarily complicated conditions, and has a quite difficult task before it. With reference to the course of the precongress conferences, the Central Committee's report calls on the party to speedily work out the program for overcoming the crisis in the economy. No less important is, however, the need to struggle against the threat to socialism and the mounting social anarchy.

At the same time comes to the fore, the need to use legal means against opponents of socialism, whose activity damages the system, Poland's international ties of alliance, or to instigate social tension by irresponsible aggressive propaganda in illegal publications. These are, as follows from the Central Committee's report, only the basic political preconditions, the fulfillment of which will be decisive for how swift Poland will overcome the present serious crisis.

The contents of the published document also indicate ways and means of improving especially the situation in the party itself; for the party to be again at the head of developments in the country and to guide them [as heard] in the interests of the Polish working people's needs and goals.

In this context, the question of the ideological struggle against extremist stands and attitude in the party's rank and file comes to the fore. The present social processes, says the Central Committee's report, also involves groups of adversaries of socialism who, with a certain success, influence public opinion. They made use of the feelings of discontent in society. Their tactical partial aims--at the first sight identical with social efforts--is responsible for the fact that party members have only a little been aware of the continuing political struggle and danger. They failed to identify the enemy's efforts to weaken the internal cohesion of the party and undermine the principles of the democratic centralism and ideological basis of the Polish United Workers' Party.

In this connection, the need emerges for the party to consistently guide the mass media for strengthening the party's ideological work and taking measures for active political steps in a number of other questions. These include, undoubtedly, the policy of pressure on the part of the destructive forces around the so-called Solidarity directed against the socialist state, against the Marxist-Leninist party, and against Poland's allies.

Of great importance are also problems concerning the drastic drop in the social discipline and the worsening of law and order. Neither can the fact be ignored that the number of attacks on representatives of the security forces is increasing, as well as cases of damaging state property and threats to citizens' safety--nor the efforts of the priesthood and of the powerful lay Catholic leaders to violate the constitutional freedom of religion. All these questions need an urgent answer. The result of the ninth special congress of the Polish United Workers' Party will show whether this will be the case.

We can underwrite the review of the Warsaw magazine RZECZYWISTOSC which said on the eve of the congress: Only a party united on the platform of Marxism-Leninism, internationalism an' the interests of the working class can be a trustworthy partner for Poland's socialist allies--without whom, and against whom, it cannot lead the people, nor run the state.

PRECONGRESS ATMOSPHERE IN POLAND ANALYZED

'Responsibility for Socialism'

AU141140 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Jul 81 p 6

[Article by Warsaw correspondents Jan Lipavsky, Pavol Minarik and Karol Mikulka: "Responsibility for Socialism; Unrest Prior to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress"]

[Text] Two basic approaches to the forthcoming congress are discernible in the Polish press. One emphasizes the "uniqueness of the Polish socialist renewal." The other notes with apprehension the process of profound political and ideological differentiation taking place in social life and within the party.

The weekly RZECZYWISTOSC has written that the outcome of the congress will determine not only the party's real strength but also the picture of socialism and the fate of Poland. TRYBUNA LUDU writes in a similar vein, "Some comrades tend to simplify complicated social and economic phenomena. They view the congress as their solution. Their notion of the congress is that it is a magic wand whose touch will cause all difficulties to vanish, and a simple, clear way out of the crisis will become visible."

In the course of the precongress preparations the party as a whole has concentrated chiefly on its internal affairs and less on its outside activities. This may have been one of the reasons, if not the main reason, for the fact that throughout this period forces that are hostile to the party have had wide room to maneuver. They have been enlisting and continue to enlist all kinds of "advocates of renewal" according to their ideological program.

It is no accident that the PZPR's covert and overt enemies now want to make the ground too hot for the congress; reports are coming from various parts of the country on so-called protest actions being prepared, mostly by "Solidarity" even though the reports prefer to attribute them to KOR. Reports to that effect are coming from the Wielkopolska, Katowice and Mazowsze regions where incorrigible adventurers from "Solidarity's" regional organizations "protest" against the decision of the Supreme Court of the Polish People's Republic to take Moczulski's subversive group into custody again. In Kutno and elsewhere, local provocateurs are organizing for the congress days under the auspices of their centers so-called protest marches because the government allegedly "is doing nothing to eliminate the economic crisis." And in Bydgoszcz, where "Solidarity" has already achieved its aim and forced the director of the city transportation enterprise to resign by staging a strike (it is generally known that this was only a pretext for creating tension), the leader of the local "Solidarity," J. Rulewski, is reportedly preparing additional "surprises": He wants to take revenge upon people's power because in March he and his companions were rightly shown the door of the Bydgoszcz national council's hall when attempting to occupy it. This "revenge" is to assume the form of a strike because allegedly "the Bydgoszcz case has not yet been closed by the government." And as far as the recent and still pending conflict in LOT airline is concerned, "Solidarity" rejected the decision of the Ministry of Transportation to appoint Gen Kowalski director general. It is threatening a new protest action....

However, the political activity of some "Solidarity" leaders, who for 10 months have been doing everything faithfully at the bidding of their ideological leaders from KOR, assumes other forms as well: Some gentlemen from "Solidarity" have recently been organizing so-called exchange-based trade with foodstuffs and scarce commodities among various voivodships. They have thereby caused considerable confusion in supplies. Besides, they are spreading reports to the effect that the government has "enormous reserves of foodstuffs" at its disposal and is deliberately witholding them from the market. They are thus fanning already stirred emotions among the population, with the aim of discrediting the government. Obviously this is one of the "new forms of pressure on the government" about which L. Walesa spoke recently in Gorzow.

On the eve of the PZPR congress some circles are deliberately worsening the social atmosphere with political provocations and by arousing mistrust in some delegates, particularly those who stand on Marxist-Leninist positions. They are pitting groups of delegates against each other and causing disputes and squabbles among them, well aware that in an atmosphere of tension it is easier to divide the party, to erode it ideologically and organizationally, and to push through ideas that are a deviation from the Marxist-Leninist character of a worker's party.

In a complicated social and economic situation, accompanied by a deep crisis encompassing more and more areas of people's power, which opens scope for the antisocialist forces' activity--TRYBUNA LUDU writes--groups and, subsequently, entire centers have appeared in the party propagating the slogan of renewal from revisionist and rightwing opportunist positions.

This assessment characterizes the essence of the difficult political struggle that is to be expected at the forthcoming Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. The Polish Communists bear a great responsibility for the fate of socialism.

Press Views Summarized

AU131352 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 10 July on page 7 carries a 550-word dispatch by its correspondents "(JL, KM)," headlined "'Solidarity's' Contribution to the Preparation of the Ninth PZPR Congress; Pressure and Blackmail."

The dispatch is devoted to the 9 July 4-hour strike of the employees of the Polish airline, LOT, which "severely disrupted international flight timetables." The strike organizers, wearing Solidarity badges, "are running around [Warsaw Airport] or drinking coffee, and giving interviews to journalists, especially to those from the West."

Asked by the RUDE PRAVO journalists whether it was really necessary to strike only because the Ministry of Transportation has "rightly" refused to accept their candidate for director general of LOT, one of the Solidarity men declared that if Solidarity does not get what it wants, it will strike again on 24 July. The dispatch adds that although LOT's primary PZPR organizations, the flying personnel and the "so-called Autonomous Trade Unions" were against the strike, "this did not change the situation one iota."

The RUDE PRAVO correspondents also summarize an article published in TRYBUNA LUDU on 9 July, which "not only lifted the veil from that [LOT] strike," but "also revealed that it was a campaign organized by 'Solidarity' headquarters in Gdansk, and that it is aimed against the government draft economic reform," which had been discussed publicly as well as in the Sejm, noting that "not by coincidence, a few days prior to the party congress 'Solidarity' had given a signal for an attack on everything that makes up the content of that government document."

The dispatch ends with a 300-word CTK report on the 2-hour warning strike of the Bydgoszcz city public transportation employees on 9 July, the pretext for which, according to CTK, was Solidarity's demand that the director of the transportation organization be dismissed, regardless of the fact that two control bodies, which had investigated Solidarity's charges, described them as "absolutely unsubstantiated."

The CTK dispatch also mentions the Transportation Ministry's statement connected with its appointment of Brig Gen Jozef Kowalski to the post of director general of LOT. The dispatch ends saying that "by its irresponsibility, 'Solidarity' put the safety of travellers in jeopardy and caused further serious losses to the Polish economy."

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 10 July on page 7 carries a 1100-word CTK Warsaw dispatch, devoted to the events in Poland.

The first part of the dispatch is devoted to the 4-hour warning strike of LOT personnel, "which 'Solidarity' staged in order to push its man into the post" of LOT director general, ignoring the fact that his election would be at variance wtih the valid regulations."

The same day another strike--of the city public transportation employees--broke out in Bydgoszcz, the dispatch also notes.

The following part of the dispatch quotes from a TRYBUNA LUDU article published on 9 July, headlined "Bydgoszcz Again? How To Destroy the Director," about the cited Bydgoszcz public transportation strike.

The dispatch continues wtih a summary of an article published in the Soviet Army daily KRASNAY ZVEZDA on 9 July, accusing the United States and other NATO countries of gross interference in Poland's internal affairs, and with a report on the decision of the Polish Supreme Court to rearrest Leszek Muczulski, Romuald Szeremietew and Tadeusz Stanski, leaders of the "counterrevolutionary organization of the so-called Confederation for an Independent Poland."

The dispatch ends with the report that the Polish minister of transportation had appointed Brig Gen Kowalski director general of LOT.

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 11 July on page 7 carries a 700-word summary of a letter to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, adopted by the Katowice Party Forum on 10 July.

Prague PRACE in Czech on 11 Jul on page 2, in the column "On the Periphery of Events," carries a 400-word article signed (HR), headlined "The Incorrigibles." The article deals with the rearest of Moczulski and his companions. It describes their past political activities and closes by saying that a few weeks ago--because of pressure from Solidarity--they were released "from temporary custody, and when the trial began they were still at liberty. Their defense attorneys had already succeeded once in achieving a suspension of their trial. And how did Moczulski and company make use of this benevolence? They began touring Poland,continuing their incendiary actions, slandering the state and the socialist system, and calling for political strikes and other pressure actions.

"They did the same again after they were recently temporarily released while the trial was suspended. As the Supreme Court of the Polish People's Republic noted, the degree of the social dangerousness of their activity has considerably increased."

OFFICIALS HOLD MEETINGS WITH KAMPUCHEA'S HUN SEN

Talks With Husak, Bilak

LD141406 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] Today Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic received at Prague Castle Hun Sen, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs of the Kampuchean People's Republic.

During a friendly, comradely conversation they both expressed satisfaction with the successful development of mutual relations to date. Their further deepening and expansion of cooperation in all spheres of mutual interest is in keeping with the conclusions of last year's talks of representatives from the two countries at summit level.

During an exchange of views on a number of topical questions concerning the international situation, Comrades Gustav Husak and Hun Sen dwelt particularly on problems relating to current developments in Southeast Asia.

Hun Sen, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea Central Committee, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs of the Kampuchean People's Republic, was also received today by Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

The two representatives briefed each other on the situation in their respective parties and countries and on the main tasks in the implementation of the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the 4th Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea.

The topics of their talk included topical questions of international politics and the international communist and workers' movement.

Gerle Receives Hun Sen

LD141652 Prague CTK in English 1135 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] Prague, 14 Jul (CETEKA)--Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Ladislav Gerle received here Tuesday visiting deputy Chairman of the Cambodian Council of Ministers and Foreign Minister Hun Sen.

Ladislav Gerle assured the Cambodian guest that bilateralities will be further expanded, for which the Czechoslovak Government will create all necessary conditions.

In the economic sphere, the Czechoslovak industry will more effectively participate in the development of Cambodia, use of the natural riches and education of cadres for various branches of the Cambodian industry, the deputy premier said.

Hun Sen Departs for Sofia

LD150944 Prague CTK in English 0941 GMT 15 Jul 81

[Text] Prague, 15 Jul (CETEKA)--Kampuchea's Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Hun Sen, Cambodian People's Revolutionary Party Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary, ended Wednesday his three-day official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia and left here for Sofia. At Prague Airport he was seen off by Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek.

CPCZ-SYRIAN BA'TH PARTY JOINT DECLARATION ISSUED

AU081055 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jul 81 pp 1-2

["Joint Declaration Following the Official Friendly Visit of the Delegation of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party of Syria to Czechoslovakia" from 29 Jun to 6 Jul: "Support for the Arab People; For Further Deepening Contacts Between the CPCZ and Ba'th"]

[Text] Ba'th party's delegation was received by Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president. During the meeting 'Abdallah al-Ahmar conveyed to Comrade Gustav Husak comradely greetings and a message from Hafez al-Assad, the Ba'th party's secretary general and president of the Syrian Arab Republic.

During its stay in the CSSR, the delegation acquainted itself with the successes achieved by the Czechoslovak people in building the advanced socialist society and talked to party and economic figures.

The Ba'th party delegation conducted talks with the CPCZ Central Committee delegation, led by Vasil Bilak CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary.

During the talks, which were held in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding, a useful exchange of information took place on the two parties' activities and on the development of the two friendly countries; certain most topical problems of the current international situation, and particularly the situation in the Middle East, were appraised.

The representatives of the two parties expressed their gratification at the rising development of the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two parties and countries. They confirmed their mutual wish to undertake measures for further developing and deepening friendly contacts between the CPCZ and Ba'th of Syria in the interests of the friendly peoples of the two countries and their common battle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, and for peace, progress and socialism.

The CPCZ delegation highly appraised the progressive achievements and successes achieved by the Syrian people under the leadership of the Ba'th party and its secretary general, Hafez al-Assad, in various spheres of life, and the battle conducted by Syria to strengthen the Arab's staunch stance in the struggle against the Camp David accords and their consequences and to ensure a lasting and just peace in the Middle East. It underscored Syria's principled, patriotic policy and the role played by it in the anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist front.

The delegation of the Syrian Ba'th party highly appraised the significant successes achieved by Czechoslovakia's people under the CPCZ's leadership in all spheres of the country's economic, political and cultural life, and appraised just as highly the support granted by the CSSR's party, government and people to the Arab people's fight and their just cause.

The two sides discussed in detail particular attention to assessing the political development in the extremely sensitive area of the Middle East. In this connection, they expressed apprehension about the dangerous situation threatening to grow into another war conflict.

They expressed their firm conviction that the reason for the sharpening crisis in the Middle East is the continuing aggressive Israeli policy, supported by the United States, which has as its main goal the fulfillment of imperialist-Zionist plans for gaining control over the area and eliminating the Arab National Liberation Movement.

The two sides condemned the Camp David accords concluded between the Egyptian leadership and Israel under U.S. patronage, and they stated that the accords have enhanced the explosive nature of the situation in the area and delayed the possibility of achieving a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. In this connection the two sides condemned the plans aimed at liquidating the Palestinian question and completely denying the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine. The two parties' delegations further stressed that these agreements create conditions for enabling the United States to make use of the tension for pushing through and enhancing its military presence in the area.

In the course of the two delegations' negotiations it was fully confirmed that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East can be achieved only through the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, and on the basis of the realization of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine for a national self-determination, including their right to create an independent state. In this connection the two sides condemned Israel's decision to annex occupied Jerusalem and make it Israel's capital. Furthermore, they resolutely condemned the building of settlements on occupied Arab territories and the Israeli terrorist practices.

In the course of their negotiations the two sides expressed support for L. I. Brezhnev's initiative to hold an international conference with the participation of all interested sides, including the PLO, so as to find a just and lasting solution to the crisis in the Middle East under UN auspices.

In this connection the Czechoslovak side highly appraised the principled policy of the Syrian Arab Republic and its significant role within the framework of the Steadfastness Front, as well as in the Arab world as a whole, in pushing for a just peaceful solution of the Middle East problem and especially the Palestinian question for the benefit of world peace and progress.

The two sides underscored the effective positive role of the Syrian Arab Republic in Lebanon and emphasized the positive role of the Arab security corps in the reestablishment of security and stability in this country.

Two two sides declared their protest against the aggressive action of the Israeli Airforce against the Iraqi nuclear center, built for peaceful purposes. They regard this action as a manifestation of Israel's aggression against the Arab peoples, an agression supported by American imperialism.

The delegations voiced serious misgivings about the continuing war conflict between Iraq and Iran, which contradicts the real interests of the people of the two states and merely serves the realization of the plans of American imperialism and the reinstatement of its hegemony in this area. At the same time they stressed the necessity to resolve antagonisms between the two countries at war by means of peace negotiations and to support all steps directed toward achieving this goal.

The two sides expressed full solidarity with the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in its battle for national independence and sovereignty and pointed out the necessity of a political solution of the situation in the country, one that must clearly guarantee the halt of all and any interference of American imperialism, its allies and world reaction.

The two sides stressed the importance of alliance between the forces of world socialism and the forces of liberation, progress and peace. On this occasion they expressed gratification over the positive development of relations between the Syrian Arab Republic and the USSR, which were anchored in the treaty on friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

The two sides positively appraise the significant role played by the Nonaligned Movement in international relations. They confirmed resolute support for national liberation movements and expressed solidarity with the just fight of Namibia's people for freedom and independence, as well as the fight of the people of the Republic of South Africa to eliminate the regime of apartheid.

During the discussion of international questions the two delegations expressed their unwavering support for the fight to consolidate peace and the peoples' security and to deepen detente in international relations. They warmly support the Soviet Union's extensive peace initiative and specific proposals. They emphatically condemned the plans of world imperialism, headed by the United States, aimed at enhancing tension, liquidating the achieved successes in the realm of detente, escalating the armament race and pushing through a policy from positions of strength.

The two sides emphatically condemned the American Government's decisions on expanding the mass production of new weapons of mass destruction, as well as the NATO council's decision on the production and deployment of new American medium-range nuclear missiles on the territory of certain West European countries, which is intended to bring about a change in the existing equilibrium and the acquisition of unilateral advantages.

The two delegations pointed out the special significance of fulfilling the CSCE's Final Act; they attribute great importance to the current Madrid meeting and support endeavors for convening a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe. They stressed the close connection between security in Europe and in the Middle East.

The two delegations expressed deep gratification at the results of the visit and the talks, during which a complete conformity of opinions on all matters under discussion was manifested. Simultaneously they expressed the conviction that the talks will become a new and significant impulse for further deepening friendship and developing all-round cooperation between the CPCZ and Ba'th, and between the CSSR and the Syrian Arab Republic, which fully corresponds to the interests of the two countries and to peace and progress in the world.

Comrades Vasil Bilak and 'Abdallah al-Ahmar signed an agreement on cooperation between the CPCZ and the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party of Syria (Ba'th) for the years 1981-82.

CHNOUPEK ADDRESSES RALLY, ON MONGOLIAN ANNIVERSARY

AU101327 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Jul 81 pp 1-2

[CTK report: "A Country of Dynamic Development; Rally on the 60th Anniversary of the People's Revolution in Mongolia"; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Excerpt] THE CSSR NATIONAL FRONT CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE NATIONAL FRONT CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CZECH SOCIALIST REPUBLIC AND THE PRAGUE CITY COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL FRONT ARRANGED YESTERDAY IN PRAGUE A FESTIVE RALLY ON THE OCCASION OF THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE VICTORY OF THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION.

In the Knights' Hall of the Waldstein Palace, it was attended by a delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Government and the CSSR National Front Central Committee, led by M. Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary. Other members of the delegation were M. Beno, CPCZ Central Committee secretary; M. Kabrhelova, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat; T. Travnicek, deputy chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee; B. Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs; V. Bezel, deputy chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions; M. Dockal, chairman of the Socialist Youth Union Central Committee; L. Prochazka, CPCZ Central Committee department head; and J. Kopca, chairman of the Czechoslovak-Mongolian Friendship Society attached to the Czechoslovak Society for International Relations. O. Dorj, ambassador of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] to the CSSR, the embassy workers and the leading representatives of representative offices of the socialist countries in Czechoslovakia were also present.

After the CSSR and MPR national anthems, Comrade B. Chnoupek delivered a speech. This year the MPR's holiday is being held within an extremely festive framework, Minister B. Chnoupek stated. A full 60 years have passed since the victory of the Mongolian people's revolution, since 11 July 1921 when Mongolia broke all the chains fettering it to the colonial system of imperialism by proclaiming itself an independent people's state.

The new people's government, headed by the unforgettable leader, the legendary Sukhe-Bator, immediately undertook several historically significant political and socioeconomic measures, aimed at overcoming medieval feudal conditions and the country's backwardness.

Under immensely complicated conditions the heroic Mongolian people, led by their vanguard--the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP]--succeeded in only a few decades in overcoming the heavy legacy accumulated by past centuries.

In the year of the 60th anniversary of its socialist history, Mongolia is undergoing a development which is characterized by the constantly new qualitiative changes that are taking place in all spheres of the country's life. In the past years Mongolia's international position was permanently consolidated, its foreign contacts expanded and its prestige in the world grew.

Then Minister Chnoupek devoted attention to Mongolia's foreign policy. He underscored its efforts particularly for consolidating peace and security in Asia and for developing friendly relations among peoples and countries on this continent.

It is unnecessary to especially stress what an extremely pertinent problem the danger of Chinese great-power hegemonism is for that fraternal country, which has almost 4,700 kilometers of borders with the PRC, he said. The reason for these negative aspects lies in the fact that BEIJING IS DISTORTING THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM, GROSSLY VIOLATING THE BASIC NORMS IN RELATIONS AMONG SOVEREIGN STATES AND REPLACING THEM BY THE POLICY OF HEGEMONISM, THREATS AND DIKTAT. It has been doing so all the more SINCE ITS PLOT WITH AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND ITS MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IS NOW CONSOLIDATING. This is also evidenced by the results of recent negotiations between U.S. Secretary of State A. Haig and the Beijing leaders. IT IS AN ESCALATION OF IMPRUDENT POLICY, A DANGEROUS NEW TURN IN SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS. It is a policy which, in its consequences, is directed even more emphatically against none other than the independent states of Southeast and South Asia. In the endeavor to achieve its political, ideological and finally also territorial aims against Mongolia, the current Chinese bosses do not hesitate to falsify both history and even Mongolia's quite real today; they are not concealing their military preparations to implement those aims, either.

Minister Chnoupek also spoke of the history and the present of Czechoslovak-Mongolian relations. In the present period relations and cooperation are developing dynamically and in all spheres.

Consistent with its potential, our state is cooperating with Mongolia in the most various spheres of developing the latter's national economy. Our enterprises' trademarks are on the machines and equipment of the processing plants of leather-working, footwear and fancy goods industries. Mutual cooperation in the sector of geologic research and the extraction and processing of precious mineral raw materials for the Czechoslovak and Mongolian industries are gaining in significance. Significant growth has been registered in cooperation in the fields of culture, education, science, medical care and sports.

Officials Greet Leaders

AU131236 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Jul 81 p 1

[Text] Prague, 10 Jul (CTK)--Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, and Lubomir Strougal, CSSR premier, sent Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural, and Jambyn Batmonh, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR], the following congratulatory telegram on the occasion of the MPR's holiday--the 60th anniversary of the Mongolian people's revolution:

Dear comrades, on the occasion of the MPR's state holiday--the 60th anniversary of the victory of the Mongolian people's revolution--we send you, the MPRP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Great Hural, the Council of Ministers and all fraternal Mongolian people ardent comradely greetings and congratulations on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Government and CSSR people, as well as in our own name.

The victory of the people's revolution in Mongolia, inspired by the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution, opened for the Mongolian people the path toward building a new, socially more just society in their country. Under the leadership and alliance of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, in firm friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union, Mongolia's people carried out deep socioeconomic transformations in the country during the 60-year period; they concluded the national democratic phase of the revolution and today they are successfully laying the material foundations for building the socialist society. The MPR is a firm link in the community of socialist countries. It is significantly contributing to consolidating their unity and cohesion, to the common struggle for consolidating peace and the people's security and for developing international cooperation both in Asia and in other parts of the world.

The CSSR's working people are sincerely glad of the results that are being achieved by the Mongolian people, led by the MPRP, in the socialist construction of their country and in consolidating its international authority, and they sincerely congratulate you on these results. We are convinced that they will also successfully fulfill the bold new plans and tasks set by the recent 18th party congress for Mongolia's further all-round advance.

We highly appreciate the fact that the relations of friendship and fraternal cooperation are successfully developing between our two parties and countries on the well-proven principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism and in the spirit of the treaty on friendship and cooperation of 1973. We are convinced that these relations will continue deepening and consolidating for the benefit of the Czechoslovak and Mongolian people, for the benefit of the unity and common course of the countries of the socialist community, in the interests of a lasting peace and progress in the world. With all our heart we wish you, dear comrades, and your party and all fraternal Mongolian people many new successes in building socialism in your country.

Likewise, Alois Indra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, sent a congratulatory telegram to Bat-Ochiryn Atlangeral, MPRP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the People's Great Hural.

On the same occasion Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, sent a congratulatory telegram to Mangalyn Dugersuren, MPR minister of foreign affairs.

MINISTER DZUR ISSUES ORDER OF DAY ON CIVIL DEFENSE

AU141150 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Jul 81 p 2

[CTK report: "From the Minister's Order"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)--Army Gen M. Dzur, CSSR minister of national defense, issued an order on the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the CSSR civil defense, in which he stated among other things: In the period in which all our people, and together with them the members of the Czechoslovak People's Army, have started responsibly implementing the political line of the 16th CPCZ Congress we are recalling the 30th anniversary of the emergence of the CSSR civil defense. By issuing a government resolution on its establishment on 13 July 1951, the supreme political and state bodies reacted to the growing aggressiveness of world imperialism. Under the CPCZ's leadership the CSSR civil defense is fulfilling a highly humane mission in ensuring the defense and protection of the population, the liquidation of the consequences of natural catastrophies and large operational breakdowns, as well as the establishment of conditions for the smooth course of economic life in the event of a possible hostile attack. The improvement of its state of preparedness is significantly aided by the creative utilization of the experience gained by the Soviet Union's civil defense.

In the resolutions it adopted, the 16th CPCZ Congress confirmed our people's will and resolve to consistently realize the peace program of the countries of the socialist community with the Soviet Union at the head. We see this peace program the reliable guarantee of the fulfillment of the exacting tasks of further building the advanced socialist society.

HAMAN ON NEED FOR NEW CONSTRUCTION METHODS

AU141349 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Jul 81 p 2

["From" a speech delivered by CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Josef Haman at a joint session of the Czech committee of the Trade Union of Workers in Construction and the Production of Construction Materials, and of the Czech Ministry of Construction, held in Prague on 11 July in honor of Construction Workers Day]

[Excerpts] The entire collective of construction workers [stavbari] must become aware of the necessity of new approaches, new methods, must realize the necessity of resolute procedure when implementing structural changes, the necessity of parting ways with the old, accustomed, often comfortable or advantageous practices, which, however, are at variance with the interests of society, so that it will embark with initiative, responsibility and a political approach upon this new exacting and necessary, but the only correct and future oriented, path.

We know well the difficulties facing the construction sector when it comes to fulfilling this year's planned tasks, with which we in no case be satisfied. Understandably, current difficulties have a number of causes. Some are found in the general conditions of national economic development and in the construction sector. Among these are breakdowns in supplier-customer relations, inadequate preparedness on the part of investors, the rightly criticized and unacceptably great number of projects under construction, which leads to the scattering of resources and makes the entire organization and management work more difficult. Measures to rectify shortcomings are being adopted and will have to be consistently enforced. A particularly important step in this direction is the decision of the 16th CPCZ Congress, which stabilizes the overall extent of investments for the next 5-year plan essentially at the 1980 level, and which at the same time markedly reduces the extent of newly started projects in such a way as to narrow down the overall front of construction [as published] and to create prerequisites for its faster advance and for more consistent orientation toward quality, thriftiness and profitability.

There are many causes that lie within the construction sector, and there is no reason not to talk about them today. We greatly respect every type of good and conscientious work in construction, but we must not ignore phenomena that harm the construction sector and the good name of dedicated and honest construction workers. We are convinced that the collectives of our construction workers will find ways to rectify this.

The immediate task facing the construction sector at present is to do everything to catch up with the existing lag in fulfilling the plan so that the summer period can be made full use of to successfully fulfill the planned tasks, particularly the vital projects. All construction enterprises whose plan fulfillment is lagging must work out programs without delay aimed at liquidating the lag in the second half of the year. This is the primary task of ranking economic personnel. To fulfill it, we must mobilize the intiative of the party, trade union and youth organizations, concentrate them on a successful united course and on achieving a turn for the better in fulfilling the plan. We are convinced that there are great reserves in production planning, the organization of work, utilizing work time and in handling material.

The time has arrived for our construction sector to make further marked progress on the path of utilizing industrial methods, on the path of perfecting the overall methods of organization and management of construction.

This, naturally, will require profound intervention in the entire organization of the construction sector, in investment policy, in apportioning and utilizing machinery, in implementing advanced principles of material incentives, in responsibility; it will require a much more resolute course against slovenly employees who are still leeching off the work of honest construction workers. These are realistic objectives and we must exert all our energy to accomplish them.

It is also the only chance to fulfill the demand to reduce construction costs, which are often disproportionally high and a burden to present and future generations. The needs of the economy demand that new projects be planned and built in such a way as to achieve maximum utilitarian value, necessary savings of materials and metals, and the construction work to be carried out with a maximum savings of motor fuels and manpower.

We are aware that all this that we are discussing today, the whole process of implementing the line of our party's 16th congress, will not be a simple affair, that it cannot be carried out without a struggle against hack work and outdated habits. However, we are aware that it is a vital necessity, that it is in the vital interest of our people and of further developing our entire society.

DAILIES ANALYZE AGRICULTURAL PRACTICES, PROSPECTS

AU071211 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Jun 81 p 2

[Eduard Fasung commentary in the column "We Comment": "From the Farmsteads of Private Plot Owners and Small Breeders"]

[Excerpts] Because private plot cultivation was underrated in past years, the self-sufficiency of rural areas--particularly in meat, milk and eggs--was reduced and, moreover, the all-social funds suffered from the loss of sales of this kind of produce. In the effort to prevent this production shortfall from negatively influencing the satisfactory delivery of foodstuffs of good quality to the market, we had to replace it promptly by stepping up production in socialist agricultural enterprises. In consequence of the protracted disproportions between plant and animal production, this had to be compensated for by relatively high imports of grain fodder from abroad. As was stated in this connection time and again, we paid a lot of money for them from all-social funds which we could have used far better in the field of agriculture and food itself, for purchasing new technology or other means for multiplying the yields of agricultural crops and the yields of animal husbandry. Simultaneously--and this is the largest loss--thousands of hectares of land which cannot be used for large-scale production gradually became fallow.

If we sum up the all-social means used for paying for mistakes stemming from impatience--for running ahead of the individual phases of the development of socialist agriculture--we are right in searching at present for a more effective method of directing life into normal channels in this respect. Naturally, it would be an error for anybody to explain this process as a weakness of socialist agricultural large-scale production, or as a return to the former private-plot economy, or else as the creation of new prospects for private husbandry. Nothing like that is being prepared, and not even in the future is there any hope of the least success in this. We are concerned solely in making use of the production conditions which are unsuitable for socialist large-scale production, and in rationally utilizing the possibilities for the self-supplying of citizens living in rural areas.

Last year the number of contracts for fattening cattle [by private breeders] increased 22.3 percent; the figure for pigs was 77.2 percent; and for sheep or lambs 384.8 percent, compared with 1979. It is gratifying that interest in this method of livestock fattening and delivery to state funds has again increased this year. Specifically, by 10 May 1980 the number of contracts for fattening cattle increased by 1,519; that of pigs by 800; and of sheep or lambs by 3,488, compared with the same period last year.

Small breeders are least interested in the contractual fattening of pigs, because for them it is least attractive from the economic viewpoint: in view of the state allocations [protidavky] of fodder mixtures, of a relatively costly acquisition of suckling pigs, as well as the purchasing price of slaughter pigs and, last but not least, the disadvantageous taxation of this production activity.

The development of the contractual fattening of cattle, pigs and sheep is also hampered by certain other phenomena. For instance, the unified cooperative farms and state farms in certain districts are concluding contracts for fattening cattle with private plot owners and individual private farmers, paying them for these services with a part of their differentiation bonuses [diferencialne priplatky]. The farms sell the animals acquired in this way to the state, crediting them to the fulfillment of their own state procurement plan for slaughter animals.

Frankly, this is speculation which we must speedily put an end to, because, as the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food replied in its letter of 16 March 1981 to the workers of the unit for the procurement of slaughter animals of the GRT [expansion unknown] of the meat industry of the Slovak Socialist Republic in this connection: "...The principle continues to be valid that the purpose of a contractual action is to acquire sources of meat over and above the plan, and it is therefore necessary to regard the contractual procurement from small breeders on principle as a source exceeding the set procurement plan." However, they received a different explanation of the same question from the Ministry of Agriculture and Food of the Slovak Socialist Republic, in a letter dated 7 April 1981: "the procurement plan for animal produce was broken down for individual regional agricultural administrations for entire sectors, that means including the private sector. The workers of the regional agricultural administration proceeded correctly in concluding the contracts; contractual procurement is also a way of ensuring the plan." Which ministry is right? But this question is not the purpose of this commentary. However, we would nevertheless like to emphasize one thing: Contractual fattening should not alleviate the work of executives in the socialist agricultural enterprises; it should consistently fulfill the tasks defined in this respect for the agriculturists by the 16th CPCZ Congress.

This Year's Harvest Prospects

AU091642 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Jul 81 p 1

[Editorial: "The First Harvest of the 5-Year Plan"]

[Excerpts] In the effort to further intensify our grain production, agricultural workers achieved a series of successful results in the years of the past 5-year plan, despite their having to wrestle against considerable problems, caused by adverse weather conditions in 3 of the 5 years. These problems were also the basic reason why--despite everything achieved in cereals production--we did not succeed in achieving production covering all our needs in grain.

In order to ensure fodder needs particularly as the basic factor of the rapidly growing animal production, in the years of the Sixth 5-Year Plan we were forced to buy almost 8 million tons of grain abroad.

Most agricultural enterprises throughout the republic strove, both last autumn and in the past spring months, to accomplish the maximum for creating, even under the lasting unfavorable weather conditions, the best possible prerequisites for a good grain harvest. However, not everywhere--and particularly not in areas with the minimum precipitation in the second half of spring and the initial phase of summer--did these efforts meet with the desired results. The lack of moisture in a number of places, exactly at the time the grain crops need it most, will undoubtedly influence the hectare yields (this is also evident from certain results achieved in the current harvesting of winter barley; and precisely for this reason much will depend on the course of the harvest.

The main thing will be to harvest literally everything that has grown. A significant role will be played especially by the high quality of work in all harvest sectors and in the postharvest handling of grain. The justification of this statement is being confirmed these days in a number of agricultural enterprises in the replublic's southern areas, where winter barley is now being harvested. The combine operators know how to "extract" quite tidy yields even from weaker crops and see to it that harvesting losses are as low as possible.

The prerequisite of the combine operators' good work is, understandably, above all the preparation of technology. And it is in this respect that even today not all agricultural enterprises have a clean sheet. Even despite repeated problems with spare parts, the situation in ensuring machine repairs has improved in many places, but still a sufficient number of combines and other machinery can be found in all districts that are not in a state of readiness, although they will inevitably be needed for a smooth course of the entire complex of harvesting work.

This year, continuous harvesting should prevail everywhere, throughout the harvesting period. This is inevitable particularly because this year we have at our disposal roughly 500 combines less than last year, due to the number of obsolete machines that have been discarded. Although the purchase of new and modern combines with higher performance has improved the performance structure of the combine pool, the 140 hectares that one harvesting machine has to service on the average is a large area. Cooperation may help decrease this. However, the main concern is to proceed efficiently and thriftily in organizing the machine transfers in all places, especially as to fuel consumption. Particularly the long transfers of combines on highways should be completely excluded.

Although we are primarily concerned with ensuring the yields in this harvest, it is not to be tolerated anywhere that this task is fulfilled at just any price. The correct course is taken by all the agricultural enterprises which tie the quality of work inseparably to the matter of efficiency and thrift already in their plans for organizationally ensuring the harvest. And this is valid not only for the grain harvest, but also for harvesting straw, which is becoming an increasingly significant source for the fodder base.

In view of the shortage of permanent storage facilities equipped with appropriate storage technology, and of the necessary manpower, this year, too, it will be necessary to store a considerable amount of grain in makeshift facilities.

The party organizations in farm cooperatives and state farms will have to push for consistent adherence to the binding regime of handling grain fodder and to check on this, from the very time it is harvested.

Yet greater care should therefore be devoted to the high quality and efficiency of all work and to the high responsibility of everybody taking part for the successful harvesting of everything that has grown in the fields under the not particularly favorable conditions. If we are to achieve the planned production level--more than 11 million tons of grain, which represents and average hectare yield of 4.15 tons--this is imperative.

EDITORIAL CALLS FOR EFFICIENCY IN DOMESTIC TRADE

AU131225 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Jul 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Trade and Production"]

[Excerpts] The workers of our trade sector must not interpret the demand for greater efficiency as a hint to increase profit, but as one to enhance the customers' satisfaction. Enhancing quality in the trade sector does not mean merely continuing to modernize the trade network and improve the general standards of sales, but also having more precise knowledge of what is in demand, not leaving goods lying in warehouses, but cooperating more successfully with production.

If supplies to the domestic market are unsatisfactory in some respects, this can be due to the limited amount of some material or other, to the limited capacity of production or the priority satisfaction of foreign trade's needs; but it is frequently also due to the inadequate knowledge of what is in demand, based on what the trade had conveyed to production in the form of orders. This is a shortage which can and must be eliminated as speedily as possible.

On the one hand the producers can be praised for the several dozen new kinds of goods every year; and on the other hand it is only with difficulty that we can reconcile ourselves to such banal shortcomings as the disappearance of cottage cheese from the market, just when new potatoes, strawberries and cherries appear on it; or to the insufficient supplies of ice cream as soon as the temperature rises to 20 degrees centigrade; or with the beverage shortage, which has become almost traditional when hot weather sets in, and so forth.

For the benefit of our domestic market it is imperative, both in production and in the trade sector, to push through all the new aspects of the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy. Both production and the trade sector must jointly raise the level of mutual relations, and demand from each other well-thought-out orders and their exemplary fulfillment as regards quantity, quality, range of products and arranged deadlines. They must not be lenient with each other, because the consumer always has to pay for such leniency.

However, both partners must show understanding for the other's difficulties. Production cannot demand the sale of goods which do not have all the required properties; in the same way the trade sector cannot expect production to be able to fulfill its demands in contradiction to the principles of efficiency and thrift. Production cannot arbitrarily cancel a certain kind of production without providing for a substitute supplier; in the same way the trade sector cannot abruptly cut down orders for goods that are already in production (in this instance the goods are, as a rule, offered to a foreign customer), and start clamoring one or two years later that it wants twice, or even five times, the amount of these very goods.

Just as quite a few production enterprises find it very hard that the trade sector wants to select from the goods they offer only those it considers necessary, the trade sector, too, cannot hamper the stream of goods to the market by various intermediary links, by limiting the jurisdiction of its organizations. If the situation finally shows signs of improvement--direct deliveries of vegetables and fruit from growers directly to the trade sector have gained ground and are being expanded--why should the fashionable novelties from textile production not also skip the wholesale sector? In ensuring the high standards of our domestic market, too, we must look for new paths, break old habits and get rid of hackneyed methods and old ways of thinking.

In the last few years a number of enterprises in the consumer industry have found it advantageous to resolve production tasks in cooperation with the CEMA countries. The trade sector also has its exchange drives with partners in the socialist countries. This is a good road and is profitability was also underscored by the 16th party congress. It yields advantages both to production and to trade, and this in itself should stimulate the expansion of such cooperation. The consumers would surely welcome it.

The demand to raise efficiency and quality of all work applies to all our working people. It is a categoric order, the fulfillment of which is in the interests of the entire society. However, it is a coin with two sides. It is one thing to demand good efficient work; it is yet another thing to get good remuneration for honest work and to be able to exchange this remuneration for good commodities.

BRIEFS

IRAQI DELEGATION'S VISIT--A delegation of the Iraqi Communist Party has been visiting our republic. During this visit it met Comrade Vasil Bilak who also saw the delegation off when it left Prague today. [Text] [Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 8 Jul 81 LD]

FILM IDEOLOGICAL CONFERENCE--A conference on the theme "Cinema Screen and Ideological Struggle," sponsored by the central directorate and other organizations of the CSSR movie industry, was held in Prague on 16 June. The main report was delivered by Vladimir Baskakov, "director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of the History and Theory of Film of the State Committee for Cinematography, attached to the USSR Council of Ministers." [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Jun 81 p 2 AU]

NEW BORDER CROSSING POINTS--An auxiliary border crossing point in Cunov, Slovakia, will be opened as of this weekend, and another one, Kral near Lenartovce, also in Slovakia, will be opened in July. [Bratislava VECERNIK in Slovak 16 Jun 81 p 4 AU]

SED'S KROLIKOWSKI RECEIVES SOVIET MINISTER

AU072009 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4/5 Jul 81 p 2

[ADN report: "Soviet Minister Received for Talks: Werner Krolikowski's Meeting with Nikolay F. Vasilev"]

[Summary] Berlin (ADN)--"On Friday Werner Krolikowski, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received CPSU Central Committee member Nikolay F. Vasilev, USSR minister of land reclamation and water resources, for friendly talks."

Werner Krolikowski briefed the guest about the decisions of the 10th SED Congress and their implementation, and Minister Vasilev gave an account of the demands leveled on land reclamation and the water economy by the 26th CPSU Congress.

"The two partners valued the fine cooperation in the fields of land reclamation and water economy, particularly in the rational use of water, the protection of water bodies and augmenting the available water resources in the interest of constantly ensuring the requirments of the population, industry and agriculture.

"Participating in the meeting, which took place in a cordial atmosphere, were Dr Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister of environmental protection and water conservancy, and Petr A. Abrasimov, USSR ambassador to the GDR."

HONECKER CONGRATULATES USSR MARSHAL KULIKOV

AU072052 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Jul 81 pp 1-2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, has sent the following congratulatory telegram to Marshal of the Soviet Union Victor Georgiyevich Kulikov, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of Warsaw Pact nations:

Dear Comrade Kulikov:

On behalf of the SED Central Committee and the GDR State Council, I convey to you the most cordial greetings and congratulations on your 60th birthday.

We attach to these wishes thanks for your sacrificial and successful work as commander in chief of the joint armed forces of the Warsaw Pact nations, which you are also undertaking in the interest of the GDR people.

Especially at the present time when the imperialist confrontation course and the NATO missile policy and intensified arms race conjure up serious dangers for the peoples, your work for high fighting strength and combat readiness of our socialist defense coalition is of extraordinary importance. Your constant efforts for the secure military protection of the socialist states and the ceaseless consolidation of the comradeship-in-arms of the allied armies and fleets represents an important contribution to the preservation of peace.

The GDR people and their National People's Army will continue to do everything to guarantee defense preparedness at the required level, in accordance with the decisions of the 10th SED Congress. We will continue to further strengthen the indestructible fraternal alliance with the CPSU and the Soviet people, as well as the comradeship-in-arms with the glorious Soviet Army and fleet.

We wholeheartedly wish you, dear Comrade Victor Georgiyevich, on your day of honor, health, personal well-being and many years of successful work in the interest of preserving peace and of the invincible cause of socialism and communism, to the benefit of our fraternally allied peoples.

Willi Stoph, GDR Council of Ministers chairman, and Heinz Hoffmann, minister of national defense, also conveyed cordial congratulations to Marshal Kulikov.

MILITARY COMMENTATOR DISCUSSES SOVIET T-72 TANK

LD140510 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 2010 GMT 13 Jul 81

[Military commentary by Col Karl-Heinz Preitag, editor in chief of ARMEE-RUNDSCHAU]

[Text] I have before me a report from Moscow which we are preparing for publication in our soldiers' magazine ARMEE-RUNDSCHAU. It gives figures and technical parameters such as: projectile-resisting armor, which protects against shells, laser beams, nuclear radiation and radioactive dust; average cross-country speed 35-45 km; operating range: 480 km.

Although the tank--and we are speaking of a tank--weighs 41 tons, the specific ground pressure of its tracked chains equals that of one person. Rivers up to 5 meters deep and a couple of hundred meters wide are no insuperable obstacle for the tank. Now for its armament. It has a 125-mm gun, fully stabilized of course, and a machinegun coupled with it, and on the commander's cupola is mounted a 12.7 mm heavy machinegun. I am speaking of the T-72, a new Soviet-type medium tank which, bearing the nationality mark of the National People's Army, was seen and marveled at in the parade of the brotherhood-in-arms 80 maneuvers.

The scant data I am able to give here will show even the technically less knowledgeable listeners that the tank crews of our armed forces have a tank with far better fighting qualities than its predecessors. One more difference is worth emphasizing. While so far a tank crew consisted of commander, driver, gun pointer and loader, the T-72 has a crew of only three comrades. The gun is loaded automatically.

Can we infer that the new, largely automated, equipment, not only for the tank forces, allows us [words indistinct], to be less particular, to reduce our efforts, to shift a large slice of responsibility to the weapon system? Anyone who even begins to think so is the victim of a thoughtless and dangerous fallacy. On the contrary. An important, indeed crucial, feature of the present, and even more the future, activities of socialist soldiers is that they increase their personal responsibility for the fulfillment of their military duties.

That responsibility flows from at least two considerations. Never since 9 May 1945, the day of the USSR victory over German fascism, has peace been so threatened, so vulnerable as it is today. Indeed, the U.S. and NATO confrontation course, aggressive, unpredictable, adventurist and eclipsing the worst crimes of violence, threatens the survival of mankind.

Is not the existence of strong, reliable, peace-preserving socialist armed forces a truly vital question for mankind? [Words indistinct] the questions answer themselves. They show what it means today to soldier for peace and socialism, what everyone is expected to do, what high measure of political and military responsibility he has to bear.

A second idea. The higher personal responsibility to which I referred arises from the growing fighting power of the military equipment entrusted to a relatively small number of people and from the sophisticated and valuable automatic instruments they operate and over which they exert, as it were, human command. The T-72, of which I gave some parameters, is but one example. The trend, we may sum up, is that the military work of the soldier, at times still misdescribed as the little private, approximates in importance and responsibility to that of the officer. That follows from the fact that soldiers today command technical equipment with which, if used effectively, they can influence the success of combat operations on a scale previously reserved to officers.

RADIO COMMENTS ON ISRAELI PURCHASE OF F-16 JETS

DW141516 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1015 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Dr Wolfgang Grosse commentary]

[Text] According to latest agency reports, the United States this Friday will deliver another 10 modern F-16 fighter-bombers to Israel. This is, as was stated in a communique issued in Jerusalem, the result of the talks held between Israeli Acting Prime Minister Begin and American diplomat McFarlane. These 10 aircraft also include those 4 F-16 planes, whose delivery was suspended--as was said at the time--as a first reaction to the destruction of Iraq's Tamuz Research Reactor by Israeli planes of this type. Here are some remarks by Dr Wolfgang Grosse.

Maybe the planes will be sent to Israel somewhat later than this coming Friday. At any rate, Washington hurriedly denied the reports from Jerusalem. But there never has been any doubt from the outset that the suspension of delivery was nothing but a bluff. Granted, Washington felt compelled to wrest from itself some gesture of disapproval, because the Israeli air strike on the Iraq's nuclear energy center had been denounced by the world public and by the governments of almost all countries in rare unanimity and sharpness. If one were not willing to share in the total isolation, into which the Begin government had maneuvered itself, then one had to disassociate oneself at least a bit.

This is why Washington suspended the delivery of another 4 F-16 planes envisaged for June so as to examine, as was said, as to whether Israel had violated the contractual terms according to which the planes were to be deployed for defense purposes only, as though there would be something to be examined or something not clear if a government, without being provoked, lets its air force invade another country and drop bombs there on a place, of all places, which without any doubt serves peaceful utilization of nuclear energy alone, as was confirmed by the International Atomic Energy Commission. Thus there was nothing to be examined. What mattered only was to gain time until the storm of world-wide indignation had calmed down somewhat. Then one was able to do what had been intended anyway, namely to provide the aggressor with new weapons.

As is stated in agency reports, no conditions were made by the American side for the resumption of aircraft deliveries to Israel. That is to say that a passport to new onslaughts on the peaceful life and on the borders of its neighboring states was issued to Israel.

At the very time when Washington's envoys were negotiating in Israel on additional U.S. arms deliveries the Begin government ordered new air strikes on neighboring Lebanon with the same war material, because one was that certain of getting the political and military backing of the United States. After all, Tel Aviv is the latter's most reliable ally in the Middle East, whose military-strategic position and oil wealth are of a specific or even vital interest--as it feels--for the United States.

This is why Washington never earnestly considered a suspension of the deliveries and Tel Aviv rightly was not afraid of it. Until now the world is waiting in vain for a Mideast policy of the United States which serves the peaceful and equal living together of the people of the region.

SECURITY ORGANS DETAIN WEST BERLIN RESIDENTS

AU131509 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Jul 81 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On 8 July 1981 GDR Security organs caught redhanded and detained Horst Bileb, resident of Berlin (West), at the GDR border crossing station of Marienborn and Edward Maslinski, resident of Berlin (West), in the GDR capital, Berlin. As agents of a criminal gang they actively participated together in crimes on the GDR transit routes. In preparing and implementing subversive actions they grossly abused the visitors' and entry regulations of the GDR capital. Preliminary procedures were instituted and arrest warrants were issued. The Mercedes, specially prepared for the crime--which had the same license plates, B-LV 984--were impounded.

More on Detention

AU140951 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Jul 81 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On 10 July 1981 Heinz Boelke, FRG citizen, violated the GDR state border in the Eisenach area, Erfurt Bezirk. He was detained. The details of the border violation are being examined by the GDR organs in charge.

VERNER MEETS TSEDENBAL, OPENS PORCELAIN FACTORY

AU131510 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Jul 81 pp 1, 2

[ADN report on Paul Verner, GDR State Council deputy chairman, visiting Mongolia on the 60th anniversary of the Mongolian people's revolution]

[Summary] Ulaanbaatar (ADN)--On 9 July, after having been received by Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Central Committee, for a friendly talk, in which he conveyed the cordial greetings of Erich Honecker on the 60th anniversary of the Mongolian people's revolution, Paul Verner opened the reconstructed porcelain factory in Ulaanbaatar which has been equipped with GDR machinery. "We regard the starting up of the facilities of the Ulaanbaatar Porcelain Factory, reconstruction with GDR assistance, on the eve of the 60th anniversary of the Mongolian People's Revolution as new obvious evidence of the successful development of cooperation between our parties, states and peoples," Paul Verner stressed at a meeting with the enterprise's working people. He then paid tribute to the good achievements of the MPRP in further shaping the socialist society, and to the place of Mongolia among the pioneers of social progress in Asia.

LEADERS GREET MPR COUNTERPARTS ON ANNIVERSARY

AU131843 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11/12 Jul 81 pp 1,2

[ND report: "GDR Congratulations to the Mongolian People: Fraternal Greetings on the 60th Anniversary of The People's Revolution"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)--Erich Honecker, general secretary of th SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, have conveyed the following congratulatory message to Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] and chairman of the great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR], and to Jambyn Batmonh, chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers:

Dear comrades, on behalf of the SED Central Committee and GDR State Council, Council of Ministers and people we convey to you, the MPRP Central Committee, the Presidium of the Great People's Hural and the entire Mongolian people the most heartfelt congratulations and fraternal militant greetings on the 60th anniversary of the Mongolian People's Revolution.

The Mongolian People can look back on a grandiose development on this historic day, a development which has led from feudal backwardness to the ranks of those countries of the world which embody social progress--the socialist countries.

The Mongolian people embarked on the road to socialism under complicated conditions and in a severe class struggle. With industriousness and creative strength, the working people under MPRP leadership have created a socialist agricultural-industrial state which is dynamically developing, with a flourishing culture and growing prosperity. In doing so, they have always been able to depend on the close cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist fraternal countries, and of their selfless assistance.

The fraternal Mongolian people are now accomplishing great achievements in implementing the decisions of the 18th MVRP Congress, which defined the tasks for gradual transition to establishing the developed socialist society. The international authority and prestige of the MPR are today greater than ever. In agreement with the common foreign policy goals of the socialist countries, it endorses preserving and securing peace in Asia and throughout the world and, shoulder to shoulder with the USSR and other states of the socialist community, the MPR repels the peace-threatening machinations of the most aggressive imperialist and hegemonistic quarters. The proposal submitted at the 18th MPRP Congress for working out and signing a convention on nonaggression and the nonuse of force in relations among the countries of Asia and the Pacific area also serves this objective.

It fills us with great pleasure that close fraternal relations have developed between the GDR and MPRP and between our two socialist states, relations which are steadily deepening on the basis of the treaty of friendship and cooperation between the GDR and MPRP concluded in 1977.

The SED, the GDR Government and people will also in future do all they can to further develop the friendship and comradely cooperation between our two parties, states and peoples, which is based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

We wish you and the fraternal Mongolian people new great successes in implementing the decisions of the 18th MPRP Congresss, as well good health and creative strength to you, dear comrades.

HONECKER GREETS SFRY LEADERS ON ANNIVERSARY

AU080907 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4/5 Jul 81 pp 1,2

[ND report: "GDR Wishes Yugoslav Peoples Great New Successes: Greetings on 40th Anniversary of Beginning of Uprising"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)--Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SED Central Committee and GDR State Council chairman, addressed a congratulatory telegram to Lazar Mojsov, chairman of the LCY Central Committee, and to Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency. The message reads as follows:

Esteemed comrades,

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the onset of the uprising and of the socialist revolution of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities I convey to you, the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, the Presidency of the SFRY, as well as to the Yugoslav fraternal peoples cordial greetings and congratulations on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the GDR State Council and people, and my own.

The heroic liberation struggle of the Yugoslav peoples against fascist tyranny and oppression was waged by the communist party with Comrade Tito at the head, who is unforgotten in our country, and it initiated a revolutionary breakthrough in the life of the entire country. It was at the same time a great contribution to the joint struggle of the Soviet Union and the other forces of the anti-Hitler coalition against fascism. Today, 40 years later, the Yugoslav peoples are able to look back at impressive gains in building socialism that elicit our sincere recognition.

I wish you, dear comrades, the communists and all working people of your country, which is linked with us by ties of friendship, great, new successes in further establishing the socialist societal order for the benefit of the SFRY peoples.

HONECKER, STOPH CONGRATULATE VIETNAMESE LEADERS

AU091245 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Jul 81 pp 1-2

[Text] Berlin (ND)--Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, has sent the following congratulatory telegram to Truong Chinh, SRV State Council chairman:

Esteemed Comrade Truong Chinh!

On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council and the GDR people as well as on my own behalf I convey to you the most cordial congratulations and best wishes on your election as SRV state council chairman. I am confident that the tested friendship and fraternal cooperation between our parties, states and peoples will continuously and universally develop and deepen on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and in the spirit of the treaty on friendship and cooperation between the GDR and the SRV as well as in the indestructible alliance with the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community.

Accept my best wishes for successful work to the benefit of the Vietnamese people and our common socialist cause as well as for creative vigor, good health and personal well-being.

Willi Stoph, Council of Ministers chairman, conveyed cordial coingratulations to Pham Van Dong, SRV Council of Ministers chairman, on his reelection.

SYRIAN BA'TH DELEGATION VISIT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED

AU131500 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 12 Jul 81 p 3

["'Communique' on Visit by a Delegation of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party; Relations Are Developing Well Between Our Country and Syria"]

[Text] At the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee, a delegation of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party from the Syrian Arab Republic, led by 'Abdallah al-Ahmar, deputy secretary general of the party, paid a visit to our country from 6 to 11 July.

The delegation was received by Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, to whom 'Abdallah al-Ahmar delivered cordial greetings and a message on developments in the Middle East area from Hafiz al-Asad, secretary general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and president of the Syrian Arab Republic.

Gyorgy Lazar, member of the MSZMP Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, and a team of Hungarian negotiators led by Andras Gyenes, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, had talks with the delegation.

At the talks, held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, in addition to information, they exchanged views on further developing and means for expanding friendly relations and cooperation between the two parties and peoples and current international issues with particular regard to the latest Middle East events.

The guests reviewed the results attained in Syria under Arab Socialist Ba'th Party leadership.

The MSZMP representatives expressed their high regard for the Syrian Arab Republic's domestic successes and pledged their support for its anti-imperialist and antireactionary policy.

The Hungarian party's representatives supplied information on implementation of the resolutions of the 12th congress, the immediate tasks of building an advanced socialist society and the MSZMP's and the government's foreign political endeavors.

The representatives of the two parties noted with concern that, following the aggressive policy and acts of extremist imperialist circles, the international situation has sharpened and the results of detente are endangered. They resolutely condemned the imperialist machinations to intensify the arms race to obtain military superiority, poison the international atmosphere, blatantly intervene in the domestic affairs of peoples and strengthen the U.S. military presence in the Middle East, the Arab Gulf and the Indian Ocean. Not only does the latter threaten the independence and liberty of the peoples of the area, but also endangers peace and security in Europe and throughout the world. In the present international situation, they regard the collaboration of all progressive and peace-loving forces and their concerted action to thwart the imperialist plans as particularly important. They stressed the importance of initiating Soviet-U.S. talks to halt the arms race as soon as possible.

Discussing the Middle East situation, both parties' representatives resolutely condemned the reactionary imperialist plans, reflected in the Camp David agreements, against the Arab Nation and Arab Liberation Movement, which are aimed against the Arab Nation's rights and fundamental interests, a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East crisis and world peace.

They also condemned the talks conducted about so-called Palestinian autonomy on the basis of the Camp David agreements. They condemned Israel's terror acts and policy of settlement in the occupied Arab areas and Israel's annexation of Jerusalem, which is contrary to the UN resolutions and the Geneva agreement.

They reaffirmed their position that a complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the occupied Arab territories, including Arab Jerusalem, and restoration of the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, including the right to self-determination, return to their homeland and establishment of an independent national state under the leadership of the PLO--the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people--constitute an indispensable prerequisite for a comprehensive and lasting settlement of the Middle East crisis. They supported the Soviet Union's proposal to convene an international conference with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO, to resolve the crisis.

They noted, in connection with the situation in Lebanon, that intensifying Israeli aggression against the Arab nation, repeated Israeli provocations against Lebanon and the Arab peacekeeping forces and its threats against Syria are the reasons for the explosive situation.

They stressed the significance of firm and constantly strengthening relations between the Syrian Arab Republic and the socialist countries and valued highly the treaty of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Syrian Arab Republic, which has deepened friendly relations between the two countries and consolidated the positions of the progressive forces of the area.

They confirmed that efforts must be continued to create a world economic order based on equal relations.

They noted with satisfaction that friendly relations between the two parties and countries are developing well and expressed their willingness to develop cooperation serving the good of the two peoples.

The delegation of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party expressed thanks for the cordial reception in Hungary.

RADIO REPORTS ON LAZAR TALKS IN GREECE

LD141212 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] Talks between the Hungarian and Greek premiers opened in the Greek capital this morning. First the two premiers held a brief private conversation. This was followed by talks with the inclusion of experts.

The international situation, in particular issues connected with the continuation and consolidation of detente, is being reviewed at the talks. The discussions centered on bilateral issues, mainly economic questions. Although trade relations between the two countries have developed dynamically in the last few years, Greece however, joined the Common Market on 1 January and for this reason we should expect a reduction in the exchange of goods.

Both sides are endeavoring to find methods and opportunities to promote the expansion of economic cooperation even in the changed economic conditions. Hungarian proposals in this connection are very wide-ranging. Hungary is prepared to take a part in the development of the Greek transport and telecommunications networks and ports by various commodity deliveries and cooperation projects.

Officials Meet

NC141831 Athens Domestic Service in Greek 1130 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] (?Bajnok), the deputy minister to the premier of the Hungarian Government, who is in Athens accompanying the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Lazar, today visited Deputy Minister to the Prime Minister Tsaldharis with whom he conferred.

Questions related to commercial and industrial relations between Greece and Hungary were discussed today by Deputy Minister of Industry and Energy Mikhail, and the Hungarian deputy minister of industry, Juhasz, who visited him today.

More on Talks

LD142024 Budapest MTI in English 1724 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] Budapest, 14 Jul (MTI)--MTI correspondent reports:

Preceeded by a half an hour private meeting of Hungarian and Greek premiers, Gyorgy Lazar and Yeoryis Rallis, the plenary meeting of the Hungarian-Greek talks was attended, apart from the two premiers, by Foreign Trade Minister Peter Veress; Adam Juhasz, secretary of state at the Ministry of Industry; Secretary of State Zsolt Bajnok; President of the Information Office of the Council of Ministers Gyula Kovacs; Vice-President of the National Planning Office Karoly Szarka, deputy foreign minister; and Istvan Dobos, Hungarian ambassador in Athens, on the Hungarian side, and by Aristidhis Kalantzakos, minister of trade; George Souflias, secretary of state at the Ministry of Cooperation; Theoharis Rendis, secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Lazaros Mihail, secretary of state at the Ministry of Industry and Energy; and Spyridhon Khrisospathis, Greek ambassador in Budapest, on the Greek side.

In the course of the meeting marked by cordial and frank atmosphere, the side stated in connection with the Hungarian-Greek bilateral relations that it provided a good example for that countries of diverse social systems could agree in several fundamental international issues and cooperate in the fields of the political, economic and cultural life. The two sides stated that political relations developed smoothly and significant problems did not remain to be solved. They created a good basis for a more active cooperation in improving the international situation, or at least in hindering its deterioration.

Following this the attention was focused on economic subjects. Although the dynamic development of the second half of the '70s stopped last year and a fall can be expected this year, the two sides agreed that it would be merely a temporary drop. They were confident of finding the fields and better methods in goods exchange and cooperation to increase Hungarian-Greek economic relations, beside the fact that Greece is a member of the EEC.

Members of the Hungarian delegation had talks on the concrete opportunities and forms of the above said with their Greek partners.

MTI correspondent understood that the Hungarian delegation would consider the formation of a Hungarian-Greece mixed economic, industrial and technical commission very useful, as this type of inter-state relations establishes a good basis for a cooperation of mutual benefit.

The prime ministerial talks will continue on Wednesday.

Lazar Attends Dinner

LD150856 Budapest MTI in English 0825 GMT 15 Jul 81

[Text] Athens, 14 Jul (MTI)--Greek Prime Minister Yeoryis Rallis Tuesday night gave a ceremonial dinner in honour of the visiting Hungarian Premier Gyorgy Lazar at the Hotel Grande Bretagne. In attendance were the members of the two negotiating delegations and several leading personalities of the Greek state. The two government heads delivered toast addresses.

POET SZABO KALMAN IN GREECE, INJURED BY FALL

NC141835 Athens Armed Forces Radio in Greek 1800 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] The Foreign Ministry announced that press reports on the injury sustained by the Hungarian poet, Szabo Kalman, have no official source. According to reports from the Hungarian Embassy, Szabo Kalman was injured after a fall caused by a fainting spell.

KADAR RECEIVES SWEDISH PARTY CHAIRMAN WERNER

LD141814 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] In Budapest this morning Janos Kadar received Lars Werner, chairman of the Swedish Communist Left Party, who is on vacation in Hungary. Andras Gyenes, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, was present at the meeting.

LEADERS PRAISE MONGOLIA ON REVOLUTION ANNIVERSARY

AU131312 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 11 Jul 81 p 4

["Hungarian Leaders' Message on the National Holiday of Mongolia"]

[Text] To Comrades Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR], and Jambyn Batmonh, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the MPR, in Ulaanbaatar.

Dear comrades, on the great national holiday of the MPR, the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the victory of the people's revolution, we send you, the MPRP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Great Hural and the Council of Ministers of the MPR and the fraternal Mongolian people ardent comradely greetings on behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee, the Presidential Council and Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, the Hungarian people and ourselves.

The Hungarian people look with sincere respect upon the historic results attained in the past 60 years by the Mongolian people, with their revolutionary party's leadership, in transforming the country's social, economic and cultural life and creating a socialist Mongolia. The recent 18th MPR Congress summarized these results, which convincingly prove the vitality of Marxism-Leninism, the unfolding of the creative force of the Mongolian people in socialist construction and the significance of fruitful cooperation between the MPR and the countries of the socialist community. All this elicits respect and appreciation among the world progressive and revolutionary forces.

The MPR is making an active contribution to the struggle being waged by the socialist countries, the international communist and workers movement and the national liberation forces against imperialism, to consolidate peace and create international security and for social progress.

We are sincerely pleased that relations between our parties, countries and peoples are growing stronger with each passing year on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In fraternal unity, we are striving to ensure that our cooperation should produce additional results for the benefit of both peoples and the entire socialist community.

On this highly significant anniversary, we wish you and the fraternal Mongolian people further successes in implementing the resolutions of the 18th MPRP Congress, fulfilling the Seventh 5-Year Plan and making your country prosper and in the activity you are pursuing to consolidate international peace and security.

Budapest, 10 July 1981.

[Signed] Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic; and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic.

REPORTAGE ON NINTH EXTRAORDINARY PZPR CONGRESS

Kania Opening Address

LD141736 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Welcome address by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, delivered at the opening of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress on 14 July in Warsaw--live]

[Text] Aware of the historic responsibility for the destinies of the state and the nation, aware of the seriousness of the situation our country has found itself in, aware of the expectations and hopes of the Poles, we have gathered for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

We are participating in the momentous transformations in the life of the party and the nation but also we are fully aware of the great threats looming over our country. All this defines the weight of our deliberations and the decisions we will take.

We have the duty to create a Marxist-Leninist program at this ninth congress, a program which will carry the achievement of the great, authentic precongress debate which, however, was not free from controversy. Here at this congress we must respond to the questions occupying the minds of not only our party members but of all the Polish people. These are the questions which over recent months were raised at every conference and during every conversation so often and with such emphasis, out of the concern for the fate of the country.

A good deal, perhaps even too much, is being expected from this congress. But also the scale of the problems to be solved is enormous today. The extraordinary congress is to confirm our capability to live up to these expectations, to lead the course of events and to map out the roads of the country's development.

May the toil we have undertaken so far and which is crowned by this congress result in a mature programme for the activity of our party and the whole nation. May the congress make our party capable--through its unity and ideological, political continuity, the high morale of its ranks--of the creative and militant implementation of this programme.

May our efforts be accompanied by the faith in the strength of the party and the will of action, by reserved considerateness, reason and responsibility.

Over the past 17 months many merited veteran activists of the working class movement, members of the central party authorities, including the Army Gen Zygmunt Berling, Teodor Palimaka, Rudolf Juzek, Roman Nowak, Zenon Nowak, Marshal of Poland Marian Spychalski, Genowefa Stefanska, Jerzy Wojcik, have died. Many self-sacrificing and principled party members have gone from our ranks. Let us honor their memory with a minute of silence.

The congress is accompanied by the attention and best wishes from our friends, the communists of the fraternal countries of the socialist community, the communists of the whole world, all to whom socialist Poland is near, who appreciate the role our party plays in the contemporary revolutionary movement.

The congress will be also watched by our opponents who would like to see Poland divided and weak and who would like to push her off the socialist road of development.

We can only tell them that Poland is and shall be a lasting link in the community of the socialist states. Poland's brotherly friendship and alliance with the USSR and the other socialist countries have been, are and shall be the cornerstone of our foreign policy, the foundation of security of our borders and independent development of our country. Poland's independence and socialism are inextricable notions.

We thank the fraternal parties for accepting our invitation to the congress.

I wholeheartedly welcome the CPSU delegation, led by Viktor Grishin, member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom.

I welcome the members of the Soviet delegation: Comrade Tikhon Kisilev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Belorussian CP Central Committee; Comrade Konstantin Rusakov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat; and Soviet Ambassador to Poland Boris Aristov, member of the CPSU Central Committee.

I cordially welcome:

--The delegation of the CPCZ led by member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Prague city party committee, Comrade Antonin Kapek;

--The delegation of the SED led by Comrade Werner Felfe, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary;

--The delegation of the MSZMP led by Comrade Ferenc Havasi, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary;

--The delegation of the BCP led by Comrade Todor Bozhinov, Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers;

--The delegation of the RCP led by Comrade Iosif Banc, Executive Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary;

--The delegation of the SRV CP led by the legendary general Comrade Vo Nguyen Giap, Politburo member and first deputy premier;

--The delegation of the Cuban CP led by Comrade Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary;

--The delegation of the Mongolian Popular-Revolutionary Party led by Comrade Budyn Dejid, Politburo candidate member and chairman of the Central Commission of Party Control;

--The delegation of the LCY led by Comrade Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the Central Committee Politburo;

--Editor in chief of PROBLEMI MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA Comrade Konstantin Zarodov.

Dear comrades,

The fighting spirit of our party is expressed in the vitality of the traditions of the working class movement, in their effect on the young generation of communists. Paying tribute to all the generations of veterans of the revolutionary and liberation struggle, labour veterans who built the foundations of our country--I welcome their representatives attending the congress debates and among them, the great soldier, Marshal of Poland Michal Rola-Zymierski.

I welcome representatives of the brotherly political organizations:

--The ZSL, with Chairman of the Central Committee Prof Stefan Ignar,

--The SD, with Chairman of the Central Committee Prof Edward Kowalczyk.

Our party counts as ever before on the toil of the Polish scientists and scholars, the creators of culture, science and technology. I welcome their representatives who are gathered here, at the congress, and I turn to them with a request for active participation in the congress work.

I welcome representatives of youth organizations and all the guests invited to the congress. I declare the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress open. Comrade Zygmunt Galecki assumes the chairmanship of the session.

Central Committee Report

LD141458 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1019 GMT 14 Jul 81

[PZPR Central Committee report for the period between the Eighth PZPR Congress and the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress delivered by PZPR First Secretary Stanislaw Kania at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress in Warsaw--live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: by the will of the party we have gathered as its delegates at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. Our congress, of which the party and Poland expects so much, is a fact which nothing and nobody can now reverse. Party congresses have always constituted an event in our country, concerning its future.

This debate is of particular importance. It is determined by the domestic situation. The country is facing a dramatic moment in its 1,000-year-old history. We are meeting during the days of the 37th anniversary of Poland's rebirth. The July festival measures the time of freedom and the time of socialist transformations. We recall the years of national disaster and the Hitlerite occupation, the boundless martyrdom and the sacrifices of the Polish people. We are cultivating the pride of the war-time generation of Poles, the heroism of the frontline soldiers of the Polish Army, and of the fighters of the resistance movement in which millions participated. With grateful memory we will pass on to the next generations the truth about the liberation mission of the Soviet Army. To it we owe not just the regaining of independence but also rescue from extermination. Let us bear in mind for eternity the heroism of the defenders of the young people's power and the revolutionary transformations, displayed in battle against the Armed Forces of Polish reaction.

The great march of Poles to the Piast on the Odra, Nysa and the Baltic regained after centuries, so as to return them to the homeland, will be remembered forever. During a relatively brief period of time in history we have lifted the country from its ruins and backwardness. Poland became a country of advanced industry. Great changes have occurred in agriculture. Despite the current difficulties, the social situation and the cultural standards of the community are also different. The community has acquired a high sense of dignity and an awareness of the civil right to co-govern state and local affairs. The fighters for the freedom of the fatherland have a right to be satisfied. The same is true for fighters in the defense of revolutionary achievements, work veterans, and all those whose selfless labor has transformed our country.

We therefore have the right to be proud of the attainments of the nation, a right to be proud of our party, the programmatic ideas and the organizing efforts which have been recognized by history. These are basic foundations and values on which we will build the program for emerging from the present difficulties. As we know there are reasons for thought, heartfelt concern, and even fear concerning the fate of People's Poland. Today, no one should entertain any illusions--a sharp ideological struggle is in progress, a political class struggle for power in Poland, for the shape of our country, and for its place in and bearing on the international arena.

The accumulation of threats to socialism, the growth of counterrevolutionary phenomena, an economic crisis of extensive character, the slackening of social discipline, and the paralysis of activity of state establishments has created a threat to the state's existence. All this makes national salvation our task of the day. We must immediately alter things, remove the threats, and lead the country to a successful socialist development.

This is expected by the party, calculating that the congress will formulate a useful and successful program, will consolidate its position in the community, particularly among the working class, and that it will multiply the forces of socialism. This is expected by millions of Poles, who are convinced that the congress will open prospects for overcoming difficulties--political, as well as those being painfully experienced by every family, particularly by women. Our foreign allies, with good will, expect it, hoping that we will prepare a program for overcoming the crisis by our own strength. We will meet those expectations half-way, and we will do everything to live up to them. It is our national, and international duty.

Service to the working class and all the working people is the most important goal of the party; and the party has the concern for permanent guarantees of the nation's independence and for the security of the socialist fatherland. Our goals are explained in the programmatic assumptions on the development of socialist democracy, the strengthening of the leading role of the party in building socialism and the stabilization of the economic situation. This document has been the basis of precongress discussion. A large number of voivodship party organizations have prepared their own proposals about the assessment of the situation related to the party's activity. This is an important achievement of the precongress discussion.

It is not the first time that we have experienced a political upheaval in Poland. Twenty-five years ago there was the tragic December on the seacoast. Five years ago we had the destructive street riots in Radom, and finally, last year, in July and August, serious strike conflicts occurred which were without precedence.

What has been common in these conflicts and what has distinguished them? The source was common for all these conflicts. They were born from general errors in the policy of the supreme state authorities. This means that the background was common: Workers' dissatisfaction transformed into sharp protest is what happened. The direct causes were concrete, mostly connected with price increases or changes in productivity norms.

The experience gained from these events is proof that whenever there are street demonstrations there is the threat that, irrespective of the workers' intentions, under the influence of adventurers they may assume a destructive character. This experience must be realized by society and by the authorities.

The reaction of the authorities differed, as did the methods of solving the conflicts in the individual periods. In Poznan, blood was shed on both sides of the barricade. We remember the victims on the seacoast. It was different in Radom, where the forces of law and order appeared unarmed against acts of vandalism by those using the workers' demonstrations. This was a conscious decision of the authorities, born from reflections following the previous bloody events.

The character of the conflicts which took place in July and August last year was essentially different. They were marked by an exceptional mass volume, long duration, and a determination to hold strike demonstrations. It is the doubtless merit of our party that during the most dramatic days of the crisis, during the most acute phase of the social conflict, it understood its character. It achieved agreement in the assessment of the nature of the workers' demonstrations, evaluating them as a protest not against socialism or the violation of its principles, not against the people's authority, but against errors in the method of government, against errors in the policy of the leadership.

We came to these conclusions at the Fourth and Fifth Central Committee Plenums and an extensive analysis was made at the sixth plenum. We recognized then and we now confirm once again that there were serious reasons for worker dissatisfaction, for protest. Poland and the party are in need of a deep analysis of everything that brought about such deep dissatisfaction, everything that brought about worker protests and caused the greatest political and economic crisis in Poland. Proposals were made after every previous crisis but the question still remains: Why did those analyses not prevent fresh upheavals, fresh tensions?

Comprehensive assessments demand scientific research and detailed analysis of individual stages in the development of People's Poland, taking into consideration all internal and external circumstances. It demands a deep analysis of the social classes and groups which took part in the process of revolutionary transformations in the country.

The sources of the present socioeconomic crisis are manifold. However, the main cause was a contradiction between stormily developing production forces and the system of management which was kept unchanged, the guidance of the national economy and the entire social life. The contradiction was radically deepened in the seventies. The extent and depth of the present crisis is the result of many erroneous ideas in economic and social policy, and of wrong decisions made in the past decade. In the first place one should list Poland's colossal indebtedness in capitalist countries which exceeds all admissible limits. Credits obtained were not used effectively. They were mostly earmarked for undertakings which did not increase the payment capacity of the state such as import or consumption. Investment growth was excessive. There was a drop in the national income and credits had to be paid back. It created extensive confusion and a state of deep imbalance in the economy and inflationary phenomena appeared on an unprecedented scale.

Errors in the implementation of agricultural policy as well as stagnation in agricultural production contributed considerably to our situation, creating, despite the high import of grain and fodder, a severe shortage of food products.

Planning and management which was not adapted to the high level of economy, social awareness and cadre qualifications caused a drop in productivity, a wastage of production means, low quality output, and a lack of interest in the results of work by workforces. The principles of social justice and elementary moral norms were violated. Unqualified growth in the unequality of earnings took place. It was and is strongly criticized by our party and society.

The development of collective consumption was inadequate, including health protection, public transportation and education. This was felt most acutely by people in the lower income groups and by large families. The accumulating social discontent created a fertile soil for the development of hostile activities directed against socialism. It is not by accident that in the second half of the seventies the Committee for Workers' Defense was set up and developed its activities as well as groupings which today form the Confederation for an Independent Poland.

These activities were inspired and supported by the Western centers specializing in diversion against the community of the socialist states.

The question arises: Why were the errors in economic and social policy not recognized in good time? Why were they not effectively countered?

These questions lead to a simple answer which, at the same time, is most important. One of the main causes of the accumulating errors was the departure from the Leninist principles, with the undemocratic functioning of the party, above all of the Central Committee and the Politburo. This consequently reflected on the voivodship echelons and on many domains of the functioning of the state. The conclusions emerging from this had to be linked with personal responsibility.

That is why the Central Committee has carried out fundamental personnel changes. That is why appropriate party and administrative sanctions have been applied against the most guilty. We assessed these issues at the 12th Central Committee Plenum. They are also dealt with in the Central Party Control Commission's report.

However, it ought to be stressed that the establishing of the erroneous mechanisms in the functioning of the party and of the state authorities as well as the need to create firm guarantees for their democratic functioning is of equal if not supreme importance. A deep sense of responsibility for the homeland and concern for the resolving of acute social conflicts were the basis for the Central Committee decisions which, at its fifth plenary session, accepted the draft Gdansk and Szczecin agreements.

We firmly support the implementation of the August-September agreements, considering this to be one of the fundamental conditions for ending the crisis.

The entire activity of the Central Committee bears witness to the desire for agreement and cooperation. It grew out of the views of the rank-and-file members. It gained their support and approval. This is how it will continue. At its Sixth Plenum, the Central Committee outlined a program of socialist renewal for social, economic and political life. The next, successive meetings of the Central Committee specified and developed this course. There must be clarity and unambiguity within the party about the ideological content of the socialist renewal. Its essence is the restoration of the fundamental values of socialism to the life of the country and to the ideopolitical principles of Leninism, an orientation toward profound economic reforms, and the development of socialist democracy to the life of the party, as well as respect for the law and the strengthening of social discipline. This is the course to consolidate the leading role of the party. It reintroduces the ideas of social justice and ethical-moral principles, and creates conditions for shaping humanistic interpersonal relations and for respecting the dignity of man, worker and citizen.

We are, therefore, looking for solutions based on socialism; for it is not socialism that fell short of expectations, but the infringement of its principles. This line has become the party line. It has gained the support of the ZSL and of the SD, and of all organizations which comprise the National Unity Front. It corresponds to the interests of the working class and of the whole nation. It promotes the formation of an alliance of the forces of common sense and civic responsibility.

An important political fact lies in the support for the line of socialist renewal and agreement from our Armed Forces. This bears witness to their patriotism and socialist profile, to the profound bonds between the Army and the nation, and also to the result of reflections to which our history inclines. We are implementing our program under difficult conditions, when the issue of society's confidence in the authorities and the confidence of the working class in the party poses a major problem. At the 26th CPSU Congress the report by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev contained profound conclusions about our conflicts and our crisis. We read there: The events in Poland are a new, convincing proof of how important it is for the party to consolidate its leading role, to listen with insight to the voice of the masses, to fight with determination against all signs of bureaucratism and voluntarism, to actively develop socialist democracy, and to carry on a realistic, thought-out policy in economic contacts with nations abroad.

Our experiences fully confirm the correctness of these thoughts, addressed to the world of socialism. However, what serves as a warning to the fraternal parties is for us a state of fact which has given rise to serious problems. We will do everything to regain society's confidence in the party and in the people's authorities, for it always to be strong and lasting.

The party confirms at its extraordinary congress the general principle of solving social conflicts through agreements which respect the socialist character of the state. A contrast to this line is a policy of rashness linked with the causing of conflicts which go against the basic national interests. The line of agreement has been deepened by the experience of the last few months. The Central Committee and its Politburo, despite the still complicated situation, have created political and legal conditions for the development of socialist democracy and of social self-government, and for the strengthening of the representative role of state institutions. This has been confirmed by the drafts of such great legal regulations as the law on trade unions, on the workers self-government, on the economic enterprise, on rural self-government, on the control of publications and shows, and also the laws on People's Councils, the Council of Ministers, institutions of higher education and the press law which are being prepared.

The Sejm is regaining the role of the supreme national representation and its constitutional role of supreme state authority. It is entering effectively into controlling functions through the Supreme Chamber of Control which has passed the test in Poland and is independent of the administration.

The cooperative system, which was so well developed in the past, has regained autonomy and returned to self-governing forms of action.

The position of the People's Councils is improving. We have changed the principle that the chairmanship of the councils was open only to first secretaries of our party committees. Now the councils are led by many activists from the fraternal parties and by nonparty people. This is a correct trend.

Deep changes have taken place in the life of our party which is rebuilding its political might. The practice of democratic action is paving the way for the adoption of resolutions by the congress which will strengthen the Marxist-Leninist character of the party and its democratism. We are a party of agreement and consideration. However, our situation requires that we should be at the same time a party of struggle for the socialist character of the renewal and a party of struggle against the enemies of socialism. The main support of the party is and will be the working class. We serve the working class. This fact is not changed by the undermined trust in the party which is still prevalent in certain sectors. The party will act in favor of creating a system of legal guarantees and institutions serving the working class in the performance of the role to which it has been appointed by history. It is the working class who in alliance with the peasants has been the creator of our people's state, the shell of the new authority and the economic potential of People's Poland.

It is a great duty of our party to do its utmost to confirm the leading role of the working class in the community in various areas of public life, so that it has a significant influence on the most important decisions taken at all levels of authority.

One of the main problems in the activities of a workers' party is its attitude to trade unions. They have a fundamental influence on the character and the strength of the workers' movement and on the position of the working class in the community. This was the case in the times when the trade unions were born out of the needs of class struggle against capitalist exploitation. This is also the case in the conditions of socialism where the role of the trade unions is extremely significant.

A party not appreciating their significance always pays a high price. In conditions of social conflicts the trade union movement in our country has split. In the course of the past 10 months the party made various efforts so that the organizational division of the trade union movement will not cause its political breakup. I shall always say this: A split in the workers' movement is harmful to the working class; and in the conditions of socialism it also harms the state.

Unfortunately, evaluation of those efforts is not optimistic. It is necessary to emphasize very strongly that our party considers that trade unions represent the social interests of the workers, a representative independent of administration. They are also a social barrier against bureaucratic deformations in the life of enterprises and in the whole of the economy. The strengthening of precisely this role of trade unions lies in the deepest interest of workers, and it constitutes one of the important guarantees of preventing errors which have often been committed. It is obvious that trade unions ought to express views on the distribution of national income as well as on the social situation of their enterprise. Simultaneously, trade unions ought to be a real co-manager of their enterprise; a participant in the management of its affairs and thereby an important element which influences the growth of national income. We state with admiration that Industrial Branch Trade Unions and Autonomous Trade Unions are moving in precisely this direction, seeking their place in socioeconomic life. We are pleased that Industrial Branch Trade Unions are restoring their influence among working people, that a clear increase in the numbers of members is taking place. Our party ought to encourage these very beneficial processes in an even more effective way.

The party has on many occasions publicly defined its constructive attitude toward Solidarity, which groups together in its ranks millions of working people. We have expressed our readiness to work jointly. And we confirm this once again.

We observe, however, a very divided character of this organization. There exist within it various trends which are contradictory. We are still open to any suggestions from Solidarity, especially those which strive for its active participation in overcoming the economic crisis. It is not a homogenous organization. We shall always help the workers' trend of Solidarity. We fully support the striving that, through Solidarity, workers can voice their interests and views, and influence the social policy of the state. We also appreciate the great energy within Solidarity which young workers bring into the trade union movement, young workers who are animated by the natural need to reform life, to fight against evil and for better social relations. However, they are not always aware of the negative effects of their impetuous activities and impatient initiatives.

But we see the dividing line where the activities of Solidarity as a trade union end and where the current of reactionary activities begins, where extremist groups are striving to give Solidarity the character of a political party, an opposition party in respect to the socialist state. It is precisely in this direction that some activists and counselors wish to push Solidarity. This is the aim of the Social Self-Defense Committee's [KOR] influence on the cells of Solidarity, and of all groups of Polish reaction. The struggle against these tendencies is the duty of party members who are at the same time members of Solidarity. Our representatives there constitute a significant and considerable force. The point is that the force of that influence ought to be viewed as being important.

We are still working under conditions of great threats created by the catastrophic economic situation and the state of social excitement, with discrepancies between the awakened great hopes for an improvement in social conditions and the increasing smaller chances of realizing them. All this is used by the enemies of socialist renewal and their allies from the centers of Western subversion.

A sharp political struggle is in progress in our country, a class struggle for the content of the renewal, for the defense of socialism, its ideological values and the realities of the system. On occasion we are asked what the situation in our country is as regards the opponents of socialism, the antisocialist forces. What does the threat to our system consist of?

The older generation remembers the difficult time of struggle during the first years after the liberation of Poland, when the forces of reaction came out in arms against the revolutionary reforms, against the young worker-peasant power. Today, the enemies of socialism build their hopes on the crisis. They want to transform the social discontent resulting from mistakes into ammunition aimed against the foundations of socialism. They don the mantle of defenders of workers' interests, as spokesmen in discontent.

They want to create a state of callousness in which one does not react any more to the so-called peaceful way of taking over power, to the overthrow of socialism, and to the creeping counterrevolution. We want to overcome our difficulties and they want to exploit them. This is the essence of the political division.

There is an entire mechanism in existence for bringing the local centers of power to a standstill, for paralyzing the activities of the organs of public order as well as diverse methods of blackmail against people defending the precepts of socialism and the policy of the party. All opponents of socialism place their hopes on the influence enjoyed by Solidarity and they want to exploit that organization for objectives which have nothing in common with the workers' interests. Our party will oppose such tendencies with determination in the interest of Solidarity itself as a trade union.

The duty of party members in Solidarity is to protect its socialist character, to protect its activities in conformity with the nature of a trade union.

Several days ago, the so-called social draft on enterprises was disseminated by Solidarity. The government drafts on enterprises and on workers' self-management have been opposed by ideas which, in fact, depart from social property and are directed toward group ownership. The operation is being developed to arbitrarily set up links of Solidarity self-management, the so-called social enterprise. There is also an attempt to eliminate other partners and to factually take over economic power. This is the issue and not workers' interests.

We condemn the operation. We resolutely confirm the main line expressed in the draft bills concerning self-management and enterprises submitted by the government to the Sejm.

In practice, the acceptance of group ownership of enterprises would indicate the parceling of the national economy as far as ownership is concerned, would split its management, and society as a whole would be removed from its influence over the direction of management; it would overpower the socialist state in its entire socioeconomic policy and would create sources for the uncontrolled growth of social unequality among workers.

In 1956, the famous economist Oskar Lange spoke about this, and I quote: Two extremes can threaten the socialist character of an enterprise. One occurs when the enterprise becomes a group property deprived of any responsibility toward the community. I would call this anarchosyndicalist degeneration. The second extreme, which I call degeneration of bureaucratism, shows the lack of effectively operating self-management by the workers. End of quote.

We reject these ideas and trends. We have presented concrete legislative proposals which aim to reconstruct effectively workers' self-management in an enterprise and only this platform can be discussed. The announced idea of group ownership is a demagogy aimed against the foundations of our system, because without their real contribution toward economic development it would be impossible to create equal chances for all workers.

The play of contradictory interests of various workforces would be contrary to the interests of all working people.

Our party must organize the entire front of defense of socialism with greater success than in the past. This involves a political offensive against its enemies, firmly opposing violations of the law and of social order, counteraction against all acts directed against the constitutional functions of state organs.

Counterrevolutionary designs in Poland have no chance. Our state, due to the party and all forces of common sense and responsibility, will not be pushed from the socialist route. Despite various difficulties we will consistently continue the act of socialist renewal and implement the line of accord with all who wish People's Poland well. We will shape our programs and intentions in the conviction that we will be able, with our own strength, to overcome threats to the socialist development of Poland and threats to the independence of the homeland.

Comrades, processes taking place in the party are of decisive importance for the development of the situation at home and for the shaping of socialist renewal. Deformations in political life and departures from Leninist norms of party life have deeply shaken society's respect for the party. The bitterness among the masses of members, of the many thousands of party activists, was even greater because it was intensified by the memory of ignored voices of warning and criticism, of the unheeded demands for a change in the political line and the elimination of distortions which were formulated quite alarmingly during the discussion before the eighth party congress, during the congress itself, and in particular in its teams.

It is thus natural that the party's first and strongest reaction, which provided a response to the occurrence of the acute crisis, was the demand for a clear definition of personal responsibility. There was a strong trend for settling accounts, even more readily understood because for the first time the political, social, and economic effects of the deformations were intertwined with distortions of a moral nature, which caused general condemnation. In the trend marked by the concern of the party and citizens, the demands for the settling of accounts were aimed at preventing something similar from happening in the future.

Unfortunately, there were also numerous unfounded accusations, and the people against whom they were leveled were not always able to defend themselves effectively. Right from the start we assumed and still assume the position that every abuse and occurrence of corruption ought to be punished with full severity and that all occurrences of the statutory moral exigencies being violated must be settled in accordance with the principles of party justice.

Conferences were the final stage of preparations for the congress, at which delegates to the congress were elected. You, comrades, have been elected. The vast majority of you are representing the party at this, its highest congressional forum, for the first time. You have the mandate of your enterprise and voivodship organizations. You have come here in order to express their position. You are also the representatives of the party as a whole. You constitute its highest authority. This is why you are surely aware that a key matter is the preservation and strengthening of the PZPR's unity on the grounds of Marxism-Leninism, the confirmation of the line of socialist renewal, the combining of actions for the speediest possible overcoming of the crisis and the effective defense of the vital interests of socialist Poland.

The post-August course has found support in the precongress discussion. We will continue with this course. Poland will be such as the party will be: Nothing can more strictly define our responsibility for the people and state. The party's leading role is no constitutional privilege but a political commitment and a national service.

Wherever we took part in party meetings, whatever speakers we listened to, concern always surfaced for the creation of institutional guarantees for the democratic functioning of the party and, by the same token, of the state and all public life. In fact, total guarantees are provided by no, not even the most perfect, statutory solutions. This view would be the beginning of a new illusion.

For fear of that, that we should not once again deviate from the chosen course of socialist renewal of our life, that we should not repeat the mistakes which have been repeated so many times already, that we should not again have bad actions to our credit, we are protecting our most beautiful idea from abuse. This fear is understandable. It results from experience. It must be permanently retained, fixed into our individual and collective attitudes. May it last like warning (beacons), capable at every correct moment to blaze with a warning light.

What do we propose to be accepted for the draft statute? First and foremost, those proposals which consolidate the democratic functioning of the party. In the front rank must be the problem of a conscious, democratically controlled, and not bureaucratically regulated, policy of expansion of our ranks. In our party, not quantity but quality will be decisive for the increase in its authority and, by the same token, will determine the development of the PZPR.

Our demands, though high, are not sectarian. The party receives into its ranks also those believing working people who accept its political program but, in accordance with its ideology, the party comes out in favor of a scientific world outlook and propagates this within its own ranks. The firmly defined ideological profile will build respect for party members and will serve as a vital motive for the best representatives of the young generation to enter its ranks. It is they, above all, who are looking for a great ideological orientation for their lives, and they will find it in socialism which most fully reflects the content of contemporary humanism. We expect, especially at the present time when we are experiencing enormous difficulties, that young workers and peasants, students, scientific employees and creators of culture will have the most noble motives for entering the party. Young people will be led here to us by the desire to fight for the socialist rebirth of society at a time of great danger for Poland. We offer candidates one privilege only, the privilege of a more difficult but a fuller life, transforming the surroundings and changing the world to make it better.

Also in operation will be verifiable criteria for assessing the attitudes of the members of our party. Not everyone, after all, meets the high obligations set by the political struggle for the implementation of our resolutions. The party should purge itself and free its ranks from alien people, from those whose attitude (?is dragging it) backwards.

A fundamentally important ingredient of party democracy is the way of electing its authorities at all levels of our structure. Up to now, nothing better than personal elections, carried out secretly, has been invented. In the practice of party life, but not in theory, democratic elections have become a reality in choosing new authorities and delegates to the present congress. This should be made permanent. Party democracy require patience; it also has to be perfected. We propose that those statutory proposals which strengthen responsibility in the party, the standing and significance of members of all primary party organizations and eligible echelons, be accepted. The main idea is to strengthen the decision-making and control functions of eligible echelons and clearly define the functions of the executive bodies of our party at all levels up to the function of first secretary of the Central Committee. It is a politically useful thing for this function to be assured of a strong position, but only in the sphere of the effective organization of the collective work of the Central Committee, of its Politburo and of the Secretariat, and therefore the creation of a climate for making decisions which are the outcome of genuine discussions and which are then implemented in a disciplined and uniform manner.

The draft changes in the statute define the supremacy of eligible echelons and their control powers in relation to the executive organs: the Politburo, executives and secretariats. The proposals to limit the possibility of serving on an executive organ basically to two, directly consecutive terms of office are justified.

In the party apparatus, party members with a consolidated social and professional standing should undertake tasks, especially qualified workers. The role of the party apparatus as organizer of ideological work and of the control of the implementation and dissemination of the best party experiences is exceptionally important. The following, clear principle must, however, function: that the party apparatus fulfills an ancillary role as regards party echelons. The fact has been critically assessed that discussions and the search for the development of democracy in party life have not always been accompanied by sufficient concern for the party's unity and discipline.

These are characteristics which grow only from democracy and centralism, that is to say, from the classic Marxist-Leninist principle of democratic centralism. It was correctly stressed before the congress that in the life of the party there existed an excess not so much of centralism as of bureaucratism. Centralism ensures democratic and effective activity of the party. Bureaucracy weakens its political vitality; it curtails intellectual movement. Democracy guarantees and centralism does not oppose the possibilities of proclaiming, defending and retaining one's own opinions as a member of the PZPR on condition that he also takes part in the implementation of those party resolutions with which he is not in agreement which are the conviction of a minority. [as heard] Practice has shown that centralism without democracy is only apparent centralism. It condemns the party to making erroneous decisions which do not correspond to life's needs. The search for blind, mechanical discipline causes party ranks to lack an internal ideological conviction to support many decisions by echelons. Similarly, democracy without centralism makes the party a helpless, formless mass, incpable of effective action. We reject opinions and activity which violate the party structure, making of it a whole built on the subordination of the minority to the will of the majority. [as heard]

This also applies to the role of members of party echelons; it is self-evident that they are obliged to know and represent the opinions of their parent party organizations. They cannot be guided, however, exclusively by their opinions. Members of the party authorities cannot represent only sectional, regional or works' interests, but must be guided by the general interests of the country.

The precongress discussion in its entirety confirmed the correctness of the fundamental thesis formulated at the Sixth Central Committee Plenum on the vital necessity to wage an ideological struggle on two fronts. I am thinking here on the one hand, of a struggle against ideological defeatism, against (?arising) impetuosity; and on the other hand, the indispensable need to struggle against conservatism of thought, against conservative tendencies. They are an exceptionally grave danger to the ideological life of the party, to its correct orientation and development. The danger of ideological defeatism is becoming more and more threatening because we are operating in conditions of exceptionally strong ideological pressure exerted on us by the entire social system of capitalism and the doctrines characteristic of it. There is powerful pressure from the ideology of social democratism, from revisionist concepts and other varieties of rightist opportunism. On the other hand, we must not, even for a moment, weaken the discussion with manifestations of various kinds of conservative attitudes, sometimes totally dogmatic. Both ideological defeatism and conservatism do serious damage to the party. Thus the struggle with extremism in the sphere of ideology still remains a current task.

In the precongress discussion, a great critical passion and numerous constructive proposals were linked with cadre policy. In the past, a considerable number of correct principles were worked out in this respect. They were not, however, put into practice and observed as they should have been. We are in favor of clear criteria for the choice of leading cadres and the creation of an efficient and effective system of forming them.

We accept that people's professional, political and moral values ought to constitute the basis on which they are assessed and promoted, irrespective of party affiliation or world view.

Such a policy can be implemented providing the party maintains a decisive influence on the key personnel decisions. This is linked to its role as a party ruling in alliance with other political forces.

It is imperative to conduct an active personnel policy bearing in mind the speedier influx into all levels of state and scientific life of young and often well educated people who show good results in their work. Today, we support the firm defense of the pioneers of a good organization of labor and progress in their factory and milieu. Such cadres are often under attack, sometimes with the use of gross means, because of their exacting requirements, because of their attempts to oppose violations of order. Opposition to harmful opinions is one of the major tasks of the party organizations and of echelons at all levels.

We also reject all kinds of exemptions in the assessment of work done by men in all leading posts. Their personal honesty is not enough. There must be good results in their acitivity. It is necessary to make decisions to transfer people who fail to achieve good results to other posts in a manner that does not undermine their dignity. The inviolable principle will always remain that moral defects in the bearing of people in leading positin can never be tolerated and this must result in their post being vacated.

The mass media, particularly dailies, party periodicals and party journalists throughout the press, as well as radio and television, have specific tasks in the current situation. It is their duty to participate actively in the defense and consolidation of the socialist system, in the unification of the patriotic forces in joint action, and in the creation within the community of ideological bonds around the tasks which we undertake, to affirm and to criticize, to inspire and control, to reflect public opinion and to mold it at the same time. This is how we see the role of journalism in the renewal processes.

We appreciate the results achieved by journalists to make their voice credible, to convey complete and honest information, to create a reliable picture of public opinion, and to shape it in line with the interests of the nation. These achievements must be consolidated, combatting at the same time the phenomenon of an attempt by some of the journalists and editorial offices to move from one extreme--consisting of a criticism related to the past period--to the other extreme--and the trend of negation and mistrust of the party and of the authorities. The party confirms yet again its right to political inspiration and assessment of the work done by radio and television. This is its statutory duty.

We are convinced that the workers of the press, radio and television will continue the struggle for the socialist renewal, for the need for reform. They will combat its opponents and boldly expose all enemies of the people. The ideological strengthening of the party and the development of its ideological life calls for constant drawing on the great treasury of Polish socialist thought, on the Polish struggle for independence and socialism.

The centenary of the creation of the great proletariat, of the first revolutionary and internationalist party of Polish workers, is approaching. Our predecessors--the social democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, the Polish Socialist Party--the Left, the Polish Communist Party, the Polish Socialist Party and the Polish Workers' Party--worked and struggled heroically to find ideological concepts and advanced towards the victory of the socialist revolution in our country, towards national and social liberation. The Polish workers' movement has been holding the reins of state authority for 37 years now. It achieved unity on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology. It is correct for our congress to refer in a separate resolution to the centenary of the Polish workers' movement and to guide the beginning of work on extracting and disseminating its historic inheritance. One cannot build socialism without scientific knowledge about socialism, its essence and its stages of development. Lenin said there is no error more dangerous for a communist party than to base its tactics on subjective aspirations.

There is one Marxist-Leninist theory; it is universal. However, if it is applied properly it is also national. It serves the building of socialism in all countries and in each individually. It is international in its content and innovativeness; it synthesizes the historical experiences of all countries. Every party contributes its own experience and development to socialist theory, enriching the universal theory of the revolutionary socialist reconstruction of society. It is the duty of Polish Marxists to respond to the many basic dilemmas created by the development of socialism in Poland so as to give theoretic and ideological depth to our, of necessity, summary analyses.

What does it mean to shape a Marxist-Leninist party? It means that care must be taken to ensure that it is a workers' vanguard, containing the most aware section of the working class. It means uniformity of its ideological image, which cannot be the result of various ideologies; and it also means that party members form their convictions in agreement with Marxist-Leninist ideology. It means that the basic organizational principle of the party's functioning is democratic centralism and internal party democracy. This creates the best conditions for the selection and functioning of the authorities, and for the shaping of programs; but is also forms at the same time the basis of disciplined conduct, and uniform actions. It creates a force capable of action in the party for the transformation of the country.

Finally, this means a close bond with the working class and with all working people, a sensitivity as regards living and working conditions, and as regards everything which is unjust and which insults human dignity. This is also a service to the working class, but simultaneously the inspiration and leading of its activity. This means not only a profound link with the progressive tradition and destiny of the nation, and with the cultivation of patriotism, but also of feelings of internationalism and brotherhood with the CPSU, with the whole world workers' revolutionary movement. Such features are being shaped by our party; we should always take care that a process should develop toward the consolidation of these features, and we should adopt a decisive stance against everything which threatens the ideological nature and which weakens the party's ability to act.

At the present extraordinary congress it is necessary to state that our party must henceforth be more capable of directing the affairs of the state and the nation without entering on the false paths leading to critical disturbances. It is within our means to ensure that never again will periods of development end in crisis.

In the precongress discussion the demand was born concerning the elaboration for the next congress of a programme for our party, a program which, taking as its basis the achieved level of social and economic development, would mark out the objectives toward which we should strive from the perspective of a generation. Such a program is a great ideological and political necessity and an important factor of defense against pragmatism. It will be the basis for educating the party rank-and-file in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, and the criterion of the correctness of specific actions of our policy.

Comrade Delegates! Today, when all are feverishly seeking guarantees of a development devoid of shocks and crises, it must be stated that such a main guarantee is a strong state built on democracy, law and order. The road in this direction was paved by our political will, our program, and by the changes which have already been performed. In the precongress discussion the question was put: How is our party to discharge a leading function in the life of the nation and state? We reject the opinion that the party ought to reduce its role to ideological-discussion activity and to the general drafting of development programmes. We also reject the view that the party should directly manage the state's affairs.

We accept the concept that the party ought to fulfill its role as the leading force, more than until now, through the constitutional representative institutions and through the mediation of party members playing a role in the cells of state and economic power and in social organizations.

This creates the prospect for the democratic functioning of the state, or for an active role of all social forces, above all the role of the working class, of peasants and the intelligentsia; in other words, through working people, represented in the Sejm and the People's Councils, and through the allied parties: the PZPR, the ZSL, the SD and the representatives of nonparty citizens.

This means in practice the need for an essential reorientation of the activity of our party and its echelons in favor of activity in the representative institutions. It is precisely in their framework, though not exclusively, that our party must struggle at every moment for support for its program, to strive for the constant renewal of full powers for itself on the part of all the people whose interests the party represents, where by now they are implemented by the state. The discharging of the leading role by the party in a democratic system assumes that it will be an irreplaceable plane for reconciling the varied, specific interests of the social classes and vocational groups in the name of the highest, general national good.

An immeasurably important matter is the broadening of the powers of the People's Councils, together with ensuring that their resolutions will be observed. It is a question of their undertaking in particular the most important matters within their domain and the decisions they make. Control functions in relation to the state administration and close ties with the community ought to be treated as a constant principle of People's Councils activities. We cannot continue along the path of the central authorities taking excessive responsibility for that which the local executive authorities and the territorial self-government should be responsible.

Any further independence of these authorities must mean an increase of their own budgetary funds. The regulation of these matters is one of the supreme goals for reform of the state's functioning. In the past, bureaucracy has, in the broad meaning of the word, weakened the state and self-government. We are now formulating the catchword: a stronger state, acting effectively in key questions, on the basis of self-government through the participation of the whole society in the execution of authority.

There are already concrete plans for strengthening the legal foundations of our state, in which the law always rules. If we demand correctly that the law should become law, we must take care to create a good law, which will institutionalize the new trends and occurrences of our social life and create the legal guarantees for the process of socialist renewal.

A number of questions still require legal regulation. The government has approached the Sejm with the proposal to annul the decree on salaries and pensions of persons in leading positions so that generally binding laws may be adopted. The Sejm will determine the salaries of leading cadres. People assuming leading functions will make a declaration about their personal wealth in order to avoid suspicions that fulfilling a function becomes the source of dishonest enrichment. These matters are very important in establishing open and normal relations between people who are executing authority and public opinion. A concrete regulation on these questions will be of greater importance than all the frequent past appeals to cadres to be modest and honest. Any abuse of the law by state organs is also inadmissible, just as violation of the law by citizens is inadmissible. Let these basic principles be at the foundation of strengthening the law-abiding moral forces in our everyday life.

With law and order in mind, we require protection of social and personal assets, which in every state are guarded by competent organs: in Poland by public prosecution and the courts, the Citizens' Militia and the security service. It is in the vital interests of the state and of the citizens that they should function generally and efficiently.

The groundless assaults on organs of public order, in particular, and the constant creation of a psychosis of provocation can turn against all society. To date we have been a country in which people felt relatively secure in parks and on the streets, in the stadium or on the train, or at home. Numerous cases of confusion recently are causing concern [rozprzezenie]. This is why the forces of public order, acting in accordance with the law and within the law, performing their appropraite duties, should act effectively and should enjoy the respect and support of society in their difficult work.

We address words of appreciation from this congress rostrum to the soldiers of the Polish Army. It is a faithful guard of the homeland's borders, being at the same time an army for the defense of socialism. All the experiences of our history have constructed an indivisible link between the fate of the people and the fate of the soldiers. These links have common as well as historic dimensions. The Army is the progressive factor in our life. It makes a great contribution to the enhancement of the organizational and technological abilities of the state and economy. It participates in the development of science and culture and is the armed guarantor of the people's interests and of its security and historic achievements. We are proud of the citizens in military uniform. We will continue to be concerned about the efficiency and might of the Polish People's Army and about its worthy place in the Warsaw Pact.

Out party will always stand on the ground of the unity of all patriots in work for the benefit of the socialist fatherland. The well-being of a common parental home is superior to all ideological differences. This premise is the leading idea of the National Unity Front. We desire partnerlike and close cooperation from our party with the ZSL and the SD, which during the latest changes have strengthened their positions and are enhancing their role in the overall shape of political life.

Throughout the postwar period there has existed in Poland a multiparty system, which is of a lasting nature. It constitutues a political and organizational expression of the continuation of trends--progressive, historical, worker, people's and intelligentsia trends and trends of small-scale producers' circles which belong to the social leftwing.

Our party welcomes with satisfaction the efforts of our allies who w nt to make an independent and vital contribution to the development of socialist : iety. This constitutes an important factor of our political system, based on the foundation of the worker-peasant alliance and, wider still, the community of social interests.

We also ought to express to the church and its authorities recognition for the bearing of prudence, realism, and a sense of responsibility as personified by the late Cardinal Wyszynski and documented in the time of crisis. The policy of the state in its relations with the church will broaden the platform of agreement and cooperation for the sake of the prosperity of People's Poland and will narrow the areas of conflict. We highly appreciate the achievements to date in this sphere.

We deem it necessary to consolidate and widen fundamentally the formula of the National Unity Front. In particular we are of the opinion that in addition to the political parties operating in the front, whose alliance constitutes the backbone of the country's political structure, and in addition to organizations already forming part of the National Unity Front, the front ought to include representatives of all trends of the trade union movement, of denominational circles and of self-government organizations in diverse settings and areas of public life.

We want to set up a vast platform of national agreement in the implementation of socialist renewal and an alliance of the forces of prudence and civic responsibility in the struggle against threats to our common good in the shape of a secure, socialist Poland.

Esteemed comrades, delegates. We do not intend to discontinue the argument concerning the sources and causes of the economic breakdown. Let the young generation draw from the lessons of past experiences for the future, for civic wisdom and fortitude. But between what has been and what will be there is the present day of the Polish family, worn down by efforts to provide the daily bread.

On the party, as the leading force of the nation, rests the fundamental duty today of organizing a mass levy of Poles in order to extricate the country from the pincers of crisis. The economic situation is most difficult. For the third year running we have a decline in national revenue; it will fall to the level of the mid-seventies. The supplies of raw and other materials are declining. The coproduction links break with increasing frequency; the breakdowns of production reflect on exports. We are short of hard currency for the payment of current loan obligations. The market situation is described by an increase of pay by one quarter compared with a year ago, with supplies at last year's level.

Such is the state of the economy, and we must take this as a basis in the program for emerging from the crisis. First, we must undertake all means and efforts designed to check the downward trend in production, especially that which is earmarked for the domestic market and for export. Mastering this dangerous process constitutes the fundamental premise for normalizing life in the country.

Second, for the period of the next few years we must restrict the range of objectives of the economic policy to issues which determine the life of the nation, that is, nutrition, health protection, satisfying the most urgent needs of children and the young, production for the population and the economy of the indispensible quantity of electricity, and maintaining and later increasing export production.

Third, for these objectives it is necessary to tap the country's great production potential, as well as the resources of skilled personnel which constitute our greatest capital and reserves. This is connected with the switching of production and regrouping of labor resources to the domains we consider to have priority.

Fourth, in order to protect living standards from further decline we must now restrict investment outlays. Their part in the national income is at present extremely low and does not exceed 11 percent. Here, too, we must act firmly and cautiously, so that after regaining the minimum of economic balance we can restore a normal and indispensable rhythm of investment processes for the country's development.

Fifth, economic reform should be consistently introduced. This is a cardinal condition for passing over to summary actions, tidying up the economy for its normal functioning, and for increasing capacity in order to satisfy social needs. The party should support the introduction of the reform, break up bureaucratic resistance, and ensure that the character of the reform should be linked harmoniously with the principles of social justice and with the content of socialist relations of production. [sentence as heard]

Sixth, in the immediate future, the utmost effort should be directed toward increased production of domestic raw materials, including coal and agricultural produce. These two fields constitute the pillars on which we may rely most speedily and surely in our efforts to achieve economic balance in the country. At the same time, we must set in motion special programs for the rational use of basic raw materials in the entire economy, particularly the rational use of coal. We set great hope for emerging from the crisis on the development of our economic relations with the CEMA countries, particularly with the Soviet Union. The success of the program for stabilizing our economy is closely dependent on increasing our participation in implementating the program for socialist economic integration.

We are grateful to the fraternal countries for their help and for their understanding of our difficult situation. We will do everything possible to fulfill, better than we have so far, the agreements on mutual deliveries.

The provisions of the program for emerging from the crisis must stipulate restoration of the economic level and living standards which had been achieved in the first half of the seventies. This will make it possible in the future to reconstruct the economic structure according to the priority of social aims.

Today, first of all, we must halt the dangerous fall in production. It is impossible. A particularly urgent and responsible task is to rearrange some enterprises to produce other products which are more in line with the needs and ability of the economy.

This will apply particularly to plants producing investment goods for which there will be no demand in the new situation. This broadens the possibilities of expanding production to serve the needs of the market or to create profitable export. With reference to the new deeds, it will also be necessary to carry out a reorientation of investment activity through decisions on changing the purpose of investment activities or stopping them for a time, among other ways. Decisions to stop or to continue investments should be preceded by an honest balancing of the losses and advantages. The majority of investment projects should be investigated. Limiting the investment front for a period of 2 or 3 years will enable a quicker commissioning of the investment tasks which are most important for the stabilization of the economy. It will also contribute to lessening the material tension in operating plants, to increasing the production of spare parts and to improving the repair situation.

The possibilities opening up should be utilized to complete the maximum number of investment tasks, with the participation of interested socialist countries, on the basis of a division of economic benefits after production is started. The proposals on this matter as well as other proposals that were put forward at the 35th CEMA session in Sofia by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski concerning the joint utilization of a part of the industrial potential that is (?underused) because of a lack of raw materials deserve the full support of the congress and the whole party.

In line with the changes in the structure and assortment of production and investment activity, it will be essential to relocate employees. This will be a very complex socioeconomic process. When implementing this process, the idea is to effect the essential moves in a way that guarantees that working people's interests are protected. We firmly oppose all concepts that see the method of getting out of the crisis simply as gearing oneself to a policy of unemployment. A way out of market imbalance and of disorganizing everyday life has to be sought primarily in production. It is necessary to accept as a strategic assumption an increase in the participation of branches producing consumer goods in the whole of social production, particularly including industrial production. This takes time.

Today it is essential to switch over the production potential of consumer industries, at the expense of luxury goods, to production that has a vital significance for the majority of working people. In the forefront we must put food, cleaning agents and drug supplies. Neither can we forget the needs of smokers. Although smoking is a very harmful thing, it is better to discuss that when there are cigarettes, and we must be guided by this in our practice. It is also essential to reform retail prices, linked with compensation, taking into particular account the difficult situation of people with the lowest incomes. The specific assumptions and variants of price reform must be proposed quickly for broad, social and workmanlike consultation--consultation that does not take people unawares.

The situation in which the production and procurement costs of a considerable portion of the consumer goods exceed the retail prices is untenable. This is in contradiction to cost accounting; and simply in contradiction to pure common sense. The economic mechanism should flexibly adapt prices to the changing means of production. State price control and social control of the consumer organizations should counteract the monopolistic tendencies of producers and prevent raising the enterprise's profits at the expense of the consumer's pocket.

Income obtained by enterprises that is contrary to objective conditions and the social interest should be severely taxed. It is also necessary to regulate the upper ceiling of incomes with the aid of a generally applied income tax. In conditions where people with the lowest incomes struggle to maintain a real standard of living, it is inadmissable to permit an excessive range of incomes. This is in contrast with the character of socialist relations in production, whose plainest interpretation is cooperation, coordinated action, and mutual assistance of working people. This refers not just to the production sphere but also equally to the sphere of the division of production results. The acute shortage of raw and other materials is the cause of negative trends in the economy in relation to the developed production apparatus and the numerous and well-qualified cadre of workers, engineers and technologists. However, breaking this disproportion requires multidirectional actions. In relation to our supply possibilities, we have excessively developed material and energy-absorbing industries. Technologies and design solutions applied there are only in small measure adapted to material and energy savings. This is why changes in the structure of production and the trends of technological progress are the most effective methods to overcome the material and energy barrier in our economy.

Labor sufficiency permits the generalization of labor-consuming techniques and production technologies. These are conducive to exploiting qualified cadres, saving raw materials and improving the quality of products. We shall have to wait for the effects of structural changes. In the meantime, we already need an increased production of coal, sulphur, copper, and other metallic and chemical raw materials. Without a revitalizing stream of raw materials the economy must remain in the dangerous state of collapse.

This is why from this rostrum, and on behalf of the congress, I appeal to the miners to examine every possibility for increased extractions, especially the extraction of coal and copper. I am morally compelled to state without reservation that the miners' devotion and honor were often abused in order to cover incompetence in the management of the economy. Not infrequently, this impaired the miners' dignity. However, the fatherland is really in need now. The gravity of the country's economic situation justifies proclaiming a state of greatest emergency and appealing for the highest sacrifices. However, only the miners can decide what solutions should be applied. In every case, only a social agreement can be involved which would clearly link the miners' assistance with the country and the country's aid with the miners--including improved food supplies, supplying mines with spare parts and a concrete program for improving housing conditions.

After all, the miners are also in need. We therefore appeal to the labor forces of all mining-related enterprises, railwaymen and transportation employees, and all those who process our minerals, to respect the miners' toil, to make additional effort, to work on free Saturdays wherever this may contribute to increasing the extraction or more rational exploitation of raw materials.

The second pillar of the stabilization of the national economy is the enhancement of the economy's ability to feed the nation from its own production. The harvest forecasts are not bad; now the most important thing is the efficient completion and organization of the harvest, and the good organization of the procurement and storage of agricultural produce. The influence of agriculture--just as that of mining--on the whole of the economic process is many-sided.

Those two fields currently determine the state of economic equilibrium within the country and in foreign trade. We must concentrate the greatest means, and the highest attention, specifically on them.

Everything extra which we manage to gain this year from mining and agriculture will be returned with a surplus, with the restoration of the other spheres of the economy. The basic directions of the government program for overcoming the crisis are known to the comrade delegates. They were presented to the public at the Sejm session.

I think that the congress will approve the program and that it will enrich it with new essential elements.

The effective implementation of the undertakings envisaged in the program for overcoming the crisis ought to permit the reinstatement of the economic level to what it was before the crises, in many instances within 2-3 years, while on a broader scale by the end of the current 5-year period.

Comrades: It is impossible to attain stabilization and to return to the path of successful development without carrying out economic reform. The determined stance of the pary on this matter was expressed by us in the assumptions for the congress. This gained broad support in the discussions. Through economic reform we want to give a new shape to the functioning of enterprises and of the whole socioeconomic mechanism. Our party will support the basic assumptions of reform, namely the strengthening of central planning and the formation of self-government, self-financing enterprises as the fundamental link in our economy.

Strengthening the role of central planning--as we are taught by the experience of the seventies--requires increasing its crucial influence on decisions which are strategic in character. It is a question here of a better adaptation of directions of development to the leading role of general social interests. At the same time, the freeing of central planning from excessive details from mandatory interference in the economic processes, is essential.

It is a political assumption of the reform that central planning will become more community-related and that the working masses will be given a share, together with their organiztions, in defining economic goals. The economic reform cannot be implemented without the political support of the party and the guaranteeing of socialist democracy.

In this connection, it is essential to expand and strengthen the role fo the Sejm and the People's Councils in shaping the directions, principles and mechanisms of economic policy. One of the most urgent matters is to transfer the direct management of economic processes into the hands of the economic organizations, which constitutes a realistic foundation of cooperation in management by workers' self-governments. It is necessary to quickly implement the new legal principles defining the extent of the autonomy of enterprises, the principles for their creation and functioning, as well as undertaking measure which would eliminate inefficient management. At the same time it is essential to introduce institutional forms which will ensure that economic organizations do not abuse their economic powers to the detriment of consumers. The interests of consumers require special legal protection.

The question is often asked: Can we start implementing the reform in conditions of serious imbalance? One cannot put it this way, that is, that first we must have a perfect balance and only later implement the reform. Both issues must be resolved in parallel because they are mutually dependent.

The economic reform constitutes the heart of our program of extrication from the crises, but we must be aware that it cannot bring immediate results. Comrades, while making difficult choices concerning various important social needs, the party must look after the interests of people who live in the most difficult circumstances. This is a task which results from the nature of our political system. Nobody will do it for us. We often talk about the great excess of incomes over the supplies to the market. Let us not forget about the people who are very short of the money which generally is in excess supply.

In Poland there is no shortage of families who are living in very difficult conditions. These are mostly families with many children. Solicitude for these families means at the same time looking after a significant part of the young generation, its correct physical, cultural and civic development. One must remember this section of the community when carrying out changes in the policy of incomes and wages. We want to limit central control over individual incomes. This does not mean, however, giving up influencing the fundamental proportions of wages, the size of the minimum and maximum income and the principles of recompense for cost of living increases.

We propose that in the coming few years a principle should be established whereby the minimum wage would constitute half of the average and the maximum wage would constitute three and a half times the average wage. The incomes above this ceiling will be included in the increasing scale of the leveling tax. We cannot promise anyone an increase in real wages in the near future. On the contrary, part of the community which enjoys higher wages will have to reconcile themselves for the time being to a lowering of their standard of living. It is, therefore, even more significant in this situation to create social protection [oslona socjalna] by the correct division of welfare payments and the channeling of expenditures from the social consumption fund.

This social protection is an essential condition for carrying out the fundamental economic reforms. The point is that nobody who finds himself in a difficult situation through no fault of his own should feel abandoned and left to his own resources. Such a person must be aware that the party is doing everything to provide the minimum of social security for everyone.

The housing question is an exceptionally difficult problem. Past forecasts are assuming the commissioning of about 150,000 apartments per year over the next few years in socialized construction. This is by far an insufficient quantity to satisfy only the most urgent needs. Therefore, it is necessary to seek still more reserves and possibilities to streamline the construction process. Individual construction is also an opportunity to increase the housing volume. The allocation of apartments is an important component of housing policy, and we are assuming the position that it should be done openly by housing cooperatives under a real social control and according to tightly defined criteria.

Even in the most difficult economic situation one cannot abandon an improvement of medical care and of the people's health conditions. Not having at present the possibilities to increase investments in this sphere, we should more energetically allocate accommodation relinquished by the administration to the health service. At the same time one must try preventive activities, active medical care and disease prevention which are of very great importance for the state of health of the people.

Popular concern is caused by the immense neglect of the environment. In certain regions of the country, for instance in Silesia, we are threated by an ecological disaster. At present we are unable to increase material funds essentially for the protection of the environment; however, we cannot remain passive to what is happening. First of all one must counteract categorically those technological and technical solutions that do not take into consideration ecological problems. One cannot tolerate an activity which causes more damage to the environment than production advantages.

At present we need a better positioning of the party than in the past in the sphere of economic life. The changes taking place in the party itself, the changes in the economy, especially under the influence of the initiated reform, and the need for a categoric break with the past erroneous practices which have caused so much damage are steps in the right direction.

In new conditions, where the basic link of the entire economic life becomes the independent, self-governing enterprise, the style of party work must be correspondingly adapted. In the economic activity of the party all its bodies and echelons have, above all, programmatic and control functions. They party should implement these functions primarily through activeness, and the leading role of its members, in the work of the enterprises and in the workforce's self-government.

The opportunity for the party to effectively influence the self-government will depend in practice, above all, on the genuine prestige of the party organization and its members among the workforce, since only representatives of party organizations enjoying prestige will be able to exercise effective influence on the work done by the self-government.

Dear comrades, delegates: The present congress must map out for many years the genuine priority of agriculture and of food husbandry in the whole of economic policy. We need a deep reorientation of our policy for a speedier expansion of agriculture and the entire food husbandry. This calls for a determined acceleration of the potential of industry working for agriculture and of the services for the entire food husbandry. It is necessary to break radically with the antiagrarian nature of industrialization in the 1970's, so very paradoxical in Poland, which became a country of fairly well developed industry while agriculture benefited very little from it. We know that without food no country can exist.

It is possible to live a fair number of years without the most modern color TV set. We can afford to slacken the pace of car motorization--although this too would not be well received--with an improvement of public transportation.

However, we are not allowed to agree with slow progress in the technological reconstruction of agriculture, with the shortage not only of tractors but even the most simplistic implements and artificial fertilizers. The question concerns both better conditions for the acceleration of agricultural production and the technological-civilization advancement of the peasant stratum, which cannot be excluded from the universal progress.

The completion of the factory construction of new tractors in Ursus remains one of the most urgent targets of national importance. Of fundamental importance for the acceleration of farming production is the relevant standard of its profitability. Profitability has been appreciably improved as a result of the unprecedented increase of farm produce and livestock procurement prices last April. The procurement prices, uniform for all farms, will have to be changed again in the future as required by the production and revenue situation of the countryside as well as the general sociopolitical situation.

There is a need to create favorable economic conditions for the expansion of the whole of agriculture, for all its sectors, including private farms, producer cooperatives and state farms. This emerges from the thesis, accepted by the community, that agriculture is one unified entity. The respected, protected and supported private farms have within their framework full development prospects. Tied by numerous bonds to the national economy they constitute its durable element. The inviolability of peasant property and the rights of its inheritance will find full legislative endorsement.

Agricultural policy will go out to meet halfway those socioeconomic processes which stem from the needs of the countryside itself, from technical and social will and experience, from production progress, and from what farmers themselves are interested in. Thus, we shall promote the modernization of state farms and the development of agricultural production cooperatives.

Increased agricultural production requires that a number of production services for agriculture and everyday living services for the rural population should be improved by means of the agricultural circles, the rural cooperative movement and state economic organizations which provide services to agriculture.

The changes which are being carried out and the increase in activity by farmers within the self-government framework goes back to the best traditions of the popular movement which shaped among the people an attachment to the soil, the high ethics of farmers' work, and a feeling of civic responsibility. Party organizations and organizations of the United Peasant Party maintain these values by acting together in the countryside. Our party highly assesses and supports the self-governing activity of agricultural circles and circles of rural housewives. The brakes which formerly restricted their activity have been removed. They represent farmers' interests more and more effectively, and they strike blows against bureaucracy and corruption. They help the struggle for better conditions in which agriculture can develop. NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers has begun to be active in the countryside.

Our party's attitude to this organization will be shaped by facts and practice. If there are constructive facts, then there will be a will for constructive cooperation.

It is necessary to activate social policy in the countryside in the sphere of the value of pension allowances for farmers, for the protection of health, for the development of culture, and for improving the schooling situation for people working in all sectors of agriculture. This will end the dangerous phenomenon of the young generation departing from the countryside. Without them the future of agriculture would be threatened in a rudimentary manner.

The high imports of grain and fodder crops, combined with the difficult foodstuff situation, gives rise to the question: Can Poland feed itself? There can be one, and only one, answer: Poland must feed itself. If the present congress opens up a road toward a solution of this problem--and we are resolved to draw the whole national economy in this direction--then this will be an historic congress in the sense that it will remove one of the important sources of the cyclical crises in Poland.

Comrades: The development of our country, the technical and civilization-based progress, and the developed social needs and aspirations require that the entire public--and young people in particular--should have a broad-based knowledge and that they should improve their professional qualifications constantly. We view the development of national education and the upbringing of young generations as a great task of the party, as a vital factor for socialist transformations in our country. It is the duty of the party and the duty of the entire public to build such a system of upbringing that would effectively shape people who have all-round development, who have broad intellectual horizons, and who are open to everything that is new, progressive and creative.

The upbringing strategy of the party and of the whole educational-upbringing system should contain permanent values relating to mankind in general, ideas stemming from Marxism-Leninism. It must be based on the historical experience of the people and on national culture, and must stem from the experiences of everyday life and from a creative vision of the future. We regard the vision of making secondary education general as a program for the cultural advance of the entire young generation. We are resolutely in favor of increasing the numbers of the sons and daughters of workers and farmers in general education lycees and at institutes of higher education. We must ensure that all talents--irrespective of where they were born--that those having these talents should be discovered, should have opportunities for flourishing, and should enrich the creative forces of the nation.

We should attach particular attention to the correct training of young people for work. Secondary vocational schools with an improved curriculum should train highly-qualified workers and technical workers who will find full and rational employment. It is the duty of our party and the people's state to build the high prestige and social mission of teachers. The Polish teaching profession has a fine historical tradition. Polish teachers, at exceptional moments, have evoked patriotic feelings among the young people, have engaged their efforts for the public good, and have spurred society to such efforts.

We shall show concern for further improving the working conditions and living conditions of teachers, and for improving their professional qualifications. We should attach considerably more attention in our party activities to the increasing role of the family and of social organizations in the whole complex of upbringing activities.

The family is the link which binds the whole upbringing system. Thus, the family must occupy--and not only in declarations--a key position in the social policies of the party and of the state. Concern for the family must have not only a material emphasis but, above all, it must have an educational and moral emphasis. We shall show particular concern for the development of science and higher education in our country. Science, scientific-technical progress, and the use of highly-qualified cadres is a great and still untapped reserve of our country. We state clearly that the exploitation of scientific research up to this time and further incentives is one of the basic means for climbing out of the present socioeconomic crisis.

We shall attach great importance to the existence [Racua] and role of science in the current functioning of power, too. The Polish Academy of Sciences should play an important organizational role in this. Raising the quality of education and upbringing of the young intelligentsia and the more effective participation of teaching establishments in developing and promoting scientific research which serves the needs of the economy and national culture, must be acknowledged as being the supreme issue in the work of higher education establishments. Very deep transformations are taking place in science and in higher education establishments. Education establishments have achieved a great measure of independence in shaping the study programs and adapting them to social needs and to the development of science. The role of self-government bodies at higher education establishments has been consolidated. The self-governing nature of the Polish Academy of Sciences at institutes belonging to particular ministries is being shaped. We give our full support to these programs. However, these programs must be linked with the responsibility of all scientific milieus for the quality of scientific, didactic and upbringing work, and for the moral and political climate which is prevalent at higher education establishments and research centers.

The past few months have given grounds for our party's justified concern for the sociopolitical situation prevalent in many academic milieus. You see, there are attempts to exploit the student public for activities aimed against our party and against the principles of our socialist system.

The higher education establishment is a socialist school, and the demand that its activities accord with the assumptions of a socialist state is obvious. In the process of shaping the awareness of society, an important place is occupied by the dissemination of ideological and moral values which define man's attitudes and spiritually enrich human life. A major role is played by culture in shaping the profile of individual elements and entire societies. In cultural policy, we will cultivate the great tradition of our nation, which creates its own identity and personality. The maintenance of broad creative freedom will remain a favorable condition of the development of all spheres of culture and art. We will not, however, accept or disseminate in the field of culture statements and manifestations which do not fit within the limits of the broadly-conceived national and international interests of Poland and which are not humanistic values. We want to tighten the bonds of our party with creative circles. We will create conditions for all-round participation by creative circles in the country's sociopolitical life. Works of art shape man. They should reflect the thoughts and feelings of working people and formulate motivations to creative work and a life of dignity. Literature is a symbol and basic tool of the dissemination of culture, closely linked with the historic intellectual advancement of working people. For this reason it is most important to guarantee its widest availability and its privileged position among all cultural benefits.

In the face of the enormous tasks facing the whole of society and our party, we appeal to the Polish intelligentsia to play a creative part in solving national and state problems.

Our intelligentsia has always cherished the ideals of social service. At critical moments, enormous obligations of historic dimensions rest on the Polish intelligentsia. Today it is the duty of the intelligentsia to spread a profound knowledge of the history of the homeland and the lessons flowing from it, to struggle against obscurantism and intolerance, to strive to ensure that our nation has a clear awareness of its goals and a chance in the contemporary world.

Comrades! The youth of our society, the enormous potential of knowledge and qualifications of the young generation are our great national riches. This is a tremendous trump card in the country's further development. This thesis, unfortunately, is not reflected adequately in the practical activity of the party and state or in educational institutions. An essential characteristic, therefore, of the socialist process of reforming social and economic life must be a clear vision of the vital needs and aspirations of young people. Young people themselves bear the responsibility for full utilization of their opportunities in study, at work and in social life. However, these opportunities must be revealed in the policy of our state. The prospect of one's own apartment should be made closer for young people; without it, there can be no normal family life. We will resolutely remove the brakes on the professional promotion of young cadres, who will contribute new energy to society's development.

The voice and actions of young people themselves must not be lacking in these dicisions.

The influence of our party in society ought to be based on a combination of the vision of objectives with the strategy of actions leading to them. We must strengthen faith in the accessibility of these aims, for the difficulties of the current stage ought not to hide from view the great possibilities which the future opens before us, and one cannot minimalize the ambitions of our nation.

At no stage must the means of life prevail over th aims of life. We must also strive for material progress to be accompanied by a flourishing of the humanist values of man and society. Thus, in work with the young, the status of ideological education must be restored. Socialism is born in the struggle between the old and the new, in the class struggle, in the struggle with the habits of the past, in human consciousness, and in the ideological struggle for the human conscience and heart.

This struggle is necessary and inevitable at every stage in the development of socialism. It must be linked with service to the socialist homeland, with internationalist duties, and with self-sacrificing effort for the progress of the entire world. Our movement has always attracted the young since, with us, revolt against the evil and injustice of the world had a romantic dimension in the theses of Marxism-Leninism. Moreover, this ideology ensured effective means for changing the world.

It is imperative to reveal anew those values of socialism which have not, after all, passed away. In the life of the young an inestimable role is played by collectives of coequals, hence the great role of the activity--for it is a great role--and the great significance of the activity of authentic, independent youth organizations.

How can our youth unions best serve the cause of socialism? The answer to this question might be synthetically reduced to one thing: to educate the young generation in the spirit of socialist ideology. This is the first and supreme task. The struggle for the implementation of such ideals as social justice and equality, defines the ideological character of the youth unions.

We assess positively the will of active and independent action revealed at their congresses by such youth organizations as the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, the Socialist Union of Polish Students, the Union of Rural Youth, and the Union of Polish Scouts in order to shape attitudes in the spirit of the ideals of socialism, to struggle against evil, and to participate ever more broadly in the life of the community.

There are not, and there should not be, any generation barriers in our society. The successive generations embrace responsibility for the nation and the state, for the continuation of their existence, and for Poland's might and development.

The party will support the youth unions, which in their ideological declarations, statutes and, above all, in practice have taken an unequivocal stand on the grounds of the principles of socialism. At the same time we firmly state that we shall not put up with those initiatives which lead part of the young people, often lost, into the ideological and political wilderness. The avant-garde character of the youth organizations must be united by strong links with the millions-strong masses of youth; and the ideological and programmatic linkage, binding the socialist unions of youth with the party, cannot weaken their independence.

Matters of young people, the defense of their interests, the struggle for improving their position, for a broader participation in the life of the community--these are issues which should be at the center of the youth unions attention; and in these areas the youth unions can count on the full support of the party. Only by living the life of the young, sharing their lives, their worries and joys, will their organizations serve the community and the young people well.

Esteemed comrades, delegates! All that has been happening in Poland for almost a year is having an essential influence on international relations, on our position in the community of socialist states and the role in the world. Never since the war have the duty and need of the awareness of international conditions in relation to our fate, the fate of our fatherland and the socialist state, been as strong as at present. The profound political, social, and economic crisis and the changes and transformations taking place during its process have not only not affected the basic indices of People's Poland's foreign policy, but they have even more strongly than ever in the past revealed and confirmed its fundamental premises. The general line of our foreign policy, mapped out at the birth of People's Poland, resulted from the historic experiences and the vital interests of our people, from its traditions of aspiring liberty, democratic and internationalist traditions and from socialist ideology. This line is defined unchangingly by the friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union, by belonging to the community of socialist states, by the participation in the defensive Warsaw Pact, by cooperation in CEMA, and by solidarity with all progressive forces in the world.

Our policy is the strengthening of detente between East and West, the strengthening of peace, security and international cooperation on the basis of equal rights and mutual advantageousnes. The friendship, alliance and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union were born from the Polish-Soviet brotherhood-in-arms during the struggle against Nazism, from the liberating mission of the Soviet Army, of which more than 600,000 soldiers lost their lives on Polish soil. This future was forged in allied cooperation between the Soviet Union and Poland in the regaining of our historic lands of the Piasts, in the regaining of Wroclaw and Opole, Szczecin and Gdansk. These lofty pages of common battles and victories which saved our country from destruction, which restored freedom and defined its new frontiers, were a reference to the deep traditions of friendship and cooperation between Polish and Russian democrats and revolutionists, and closed finally all the bad chapters in the bilateral relations between our peoples. It is precisely thanks to this that the fate of the Polish people has basically changed. Its situation and role in Europe has changed.

In the entire postwar period, the Soviet Union has confirmed its internationalist approach toward us, giving us, particularly in difficult moments, invaluable help.

The Soviet Union has shown by its deeds that a strong, friendly, socialist Poland is in its interests; and the strength and international authority of the Soviet Union is in our interests. [loud applause]

In the alliance with the Soviet Union lies the most important guarantee of Poland's independence and security; the inviolability of its borders. So whoever harms that alliance also harms the foundations of the existence of our people's homeland. Our party, which created that guarantee, will not allow anyone to undermine it. [applause] We are protecting and will protect that alliance, having a sense of supreme responsibility for the security of the nation and the independence of the people's state. Poland has taken an active part in the construction of the community of socialist states. Thanks to its creation, Poland, for the first time in its whole history, has friends and allies on all its borders. It has found itself in a political-defensive system whose creation and power created new premises for effective struggle to put an end to wars and for lasting peace and security in Europe.

It emerges from all these premises that in foreign policy, particularly in the situation of crisis which we are experiencing, the most important task is to maintain and strengthen Poland's position in the community of socialist states. On all basic issues, we treat with great attention the feelings and assessments of our friends and allies. The lengthening of the crisis in Poland, the sociopolitical tensions, Poland's worsening economic situation, the activation of forces acting against our party and the socialist foundations of the state system of government, against our allies must arouse their profound disquiet and we understand this disquiet. We attach great attention to the stand of the fraternal Leninist party of the Soviet Union, formulated in the known letter from its Central Committee to our party. We fully understand the concern of the Soviet comrades for the socialist future of our country, for Poland's role as a member of this socialist community, and for our contribution to its development and security. The issue of credibility with our allies and friends is not just a question of good intentions and declarations, but primarily a question of deeds, a question of consistent activity in strengthening our party in its unremitting struggle with all dangers to socialist construction in our country. This will be confirmed by our contribution to strengthening the Warsaw Pact and the consolidation of that political-defensive alliance. We will strengthen our contribution to the implementation of the coordinated foreign policy line of the socialist community states. Our party states with all its force that the credibility as an ally on Poland and its Armed Forces can be depended upon. [applause]

We will also make our contribution to the development of cooperation within the CEMA. The world economic situation and the developmental needs of each member of the CEMA, including Poland, have set for this organization new important tasks. We support the idea put forward by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev for a meeting of CEMA member countries at the party first secretary level to work out and agree on new principles for the development of cooperation in the economic and scientific-technological fields.

We want to make an active contribution to the perfecting and functioning of the international organization of socialist states. We are convinced that Poland will shortly make a positive and valuable contribution again to socialist economic integration. Our party has a strong sense of belonging to the whole international communist and workers' movement. We are expanding broad contacts characterized by the spirit of internationalism. We have taken part and will continue to take part in activities to promote the ideological solidarity and class collaboration of the whole workers' movement, based on the principles of proletarian internationalism.

In the contemporary world, the third world countries are playing a growing political and economic role. We are interested in a broader than up till now development of cooperation with them. We are in solidarity particularly with the countries which have embarked upon the road of progressive development. We highly value the role of the Nonaligned Movement, their struggle against foreign domination, colonialism and neocolonialism for social progress; for the right of all nations to self-determination and an independent existence; for the establishment of a new world economic order.

Together with all peace-loving states, Poland is in favor of extinguishing all centers of war conflicts and for a defusion of tensions. Poland supports the Arab nations in their struggle against Israeli aggression; for a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict on just principles, giving a guarantee of observance of the just rights of all states (?and) nations of the region, both Arab and Israeli. We support the undeniable right of the Palestinian nation to set up its own independent state.

We take the unaltering stand that there are no problems at hand which cannot be resolved at the conference table. We are in favor of stopping the war between Iraq and Iran. We support the USSR's proposal on guaranteeing peace and security in the Persian Gulf region. We are taking part in talks aimed at transforming the Indian Ocean into a peace zone. We confirm our fundamental stand on a political settlement of the situation surrounding Afghanistan, in accordance with the known 14 May 1980 proposals of the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The settlement of the international aspects of the problem of Afghanistan can be achieved only by stopping aggressive activities, undertaken from outside against that state and by way of guarantees of not renewing those activities, which would also enable the solution to the problem of withdrawing Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

Comrades! The current international situation is becoming increasingly complex. Imperialism is trying by all means to achieve military superiority over the socialist world. With this aim, it is intensifying the dangerous arms race. Socialist Poland, together with all the socialist countries, favors curbing the arms race; the defense and consolidation of detente, the establishment of normal relations among states, based on equal rights. In this difficult situation, Poland, despite its internal problems, will not curtail in any degree its international activity in the struggle for a solution to key problems such as a cessation of the nuclear arms race; nuclear disarmament; strengthening European security; creation of nonnuclear zones; raising the young generations in a spirit of peace and international friendship, and others contained in the May 1980 declaration of the Political Advisory Committee of the Warsaw Pact.

Poland will pursue this policy at all international meetings, including the United Nations organization. Poland will continue to be an active supporter of and participant in the political dialogue with all states, irrespective of their political system. This dialogue is indispensable, especially at this moment when the threat of a nuclear war has increased. No one can refuse to initiate it.

Poland fully supports the latest appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet. We believe that the Soviet Union and the United States should seek and find a solution to the problem of limiting strategic arms. What matters is not only to preserve what has been achieved, but also to make new progress on this road. We are convinced that in the negotiations between the USSR and the United States the important problem of limiting nuclear missiles in Europe will be tackled, and that these negotiations will be crowned with success.

Poland cannot accept the thesis of the need for what is known as the supplementary armament of NATO. This would violate the near balance of power established in Europe.

Europe is the common home of the peoples which inhabit it. Poland has been, and will be, among the pioneers of the struggle for peace, for European detente, and for security. We favor the consolidation of European peace and detente, and the full implementation of the Final Act of the Helsinki conference. We desire that the meeting in Madrid should end with positive results.

The convening of a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe would be of great significance. Once more, we renew the readiness to host the conference in Warsaw.

We are consistently endeavoring, together with the other socialist states, to reach progress in the Vienna talks on the reduction of arms forces and arms in central Europe. We are interested in a dialogue and the development of cooperation with the states of Western Europe and North America. We shall develop our traditionally friendly relations and cooperation with France. We believe the present Government of the French left will be interested in this, just as we are. We shall aspire to improving the good-neighborly relations and mutually advantageous cooperation with the Scandinavian states. We shall continue the dialogue and cooperation--especially economic cooperation--with Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Austria, and other West European states.

We attach great importance, for understandable reasons, to the further process of normalization and the development of relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. We are convinced that this process will serve the peaceful future of our countries and their contribution to the work of the postwar strengthening of the territorial and political systems in Europe, in accordance with the spirit and letter of the treaty on the bases of normalization, thus removing the burdens accumulated in the course of history. We attach special importance to the continuation of the dialogue serving the cause of detente and peace, and a wide, especially economic, cooperation with the United States of America--a country to whose development the multimillion citizens of Polish descent have made and are making contributions, and who are maintaining links with the fatherland of their ancestors.

We highly value the voice of Pope John Paul II in matters of peace and international friendship. We shall attach great importance to the development of scientific and cultural cooperation with nations abroad. The successes of Polish culture and art contribute to increasing the prestige of our fatherland. They are a cause for satisfaction for millions of our compatriots living abroad. The Poles living abroad are, in their decided majority, sympathetic toward the Polish People's Republic, which promotes their contacts with the land of their fathers. We highly value the posture of the majority of Poles living abroad, their commitment, and their deepening of relations with the land of their fathers.

We follow with attention the attitude of Western states toward events in our country. There are governments and political forces there which well understand that only a socialist Poland which is a member of the Warsaw Pact can be a factor of stability and balance in Europe, on which rests the security of the entire continent. This proves the realistic approach of those forces. The point is that the proclaimed principle of nonintervention into internal affairs should find full confirmation in practice, because in the West there are also forces striving to play the so-called Polish card in order to change the balance of forces in Europe. For them the process of destabilization in our country, which creates anxiety and concern among our allies, is a convenient platform for attacks against the entire community of socialist countries, a desired pretext which justifies an acceleration of the arms spiral and the policy of tension. They are using various centers for extremist slogans and acts in our country. They inspire, encourage and render all support to the antisocialist forces.

Particular interest has been shown by nationalist, militarist, and revanchist forces in the FRG. As is known, these forces have never recognized the 1970 treaty which recognizes the Odra-Nysa frontier as final. Even at the ratification of the treaty, they made the Bundestag adopt a resolution which endeavored to undermine the contents of the treaty. They constantly attack the process of normalization of mutual relations. Recently various ethnic associations and other revanchist organizations which see in the Polish crisis an opportunity for undermining the balance of forces in central Europe and for realizing their dreams of the so-called unification of Germany in 1937 frontiers have increased their activities.

We know full well what this means, and what is the way leading to it. We will not allow anyone to interfere in our internal affairs or to undermine our friendly allied relations with the Soviet Union. Our people paid too high a price in the past for neglecting our essential national interests to forget about this. Let no one count on it. [applause]

In striving to alter the world balance of forces the United States has been tightening military cooperation with the PRC. This is a dangerous sign for the stabilization of peace in the world.

Poland, just like the other socialist countries, would like to maintain friendly relations with China. It is not our fault that they are what they are. It appears that the Chinese leaders are more interested in links with imperialism than in shaping good relations with the socialist countries. A departure from that line, from a policy of hegemony and anti-Sovietism, in our opinion, would also be in the interest of the Chinese people. Together with all the fraternal countries, Poland would welcome all positive changes in China's policy.

Thus, our foreign policy now faces more difficult tasks than at any time before. Their successful implementation will depend on many factors, but most of all on the method and effectiveness of solving our difficult internal problems. We appeal to all social forces and organizations which base themselves on the front of national agreement, including those which have begun to be active in the recent past, to actively support Polish foreign policy, a policy of peace, security and international cooperation.

We believe that commitment in favor of goals so directly linked with the Polish reason of state is possible and necessary, that it is a matter close to the heart of everybody to whom the fatherland is dear, to whom peace in Europe and the world is dear. The Polish People's Republic, as an ally of its allies, a friend of its friends, a frank and sincere partner in relations with all the states of the world, will continue to pursue a class-based foreign policy, a national and internationalist policy, a consistent and flexible policy, a policy of international security for the Polish people, for the security of all the peoples of socialist countries, and a policy serving the great cause of peace.

Esteemed comrades, esteemed comrade delegates! I have presented the problems and I have presented openly the truth about our situation, about the political dangers from the forces of anarchy and counterrevolution, about our dramatic economic situation, which has not yet, after all, reached its nadir. However, there is emerging a real prospect of stabilization and restoration of Poland's economic development in 2 or 3 years' time. How can one sum up the main conclusions? The basic conclusion is: Let us conclude the congress as a united party, reborn in Marxism-Leninism and strengthened by democracy and centralism. Let us remain a party of social agreement, In the name of socialist renewal, and at the same time a fighting party, a party of political struggle against the opponents of socialism, against counterrevolution, against anarchy; a party of struggle for national salvation.

Second, a task which brooks no delay is to improve supplies to the market and to bring people relief in their daily shopping. Let us do everything to lessen the torment of women, on whom rests the main burden of running the home.

Women's organizations remind us of this, including the meritorious League of Women. Let us at the same time get down to the essential economic reform as a basic need. The top-priority goal remains to accelerate up the development of agriculture according to the simple slogan: Poland must feed itself.

Third, let us adopt the course of consolidating the strength of our state so that it will be capable of better serving the basic interests of the nation. Democratic law-abiding authorities, authorities efficient in their everyday activity, will obtain and consolidate authority and trust. Let us repeat once again: Democracy is not a gesture by the authorities to society, but a great and growing need for socialism. Let us see to the accord and the harmony of democracy and social discipline.

Fourth, in the most difficult period of crisis let us protect the living conditions of people with the lowest incomes and of families with many children. Social justice will remain the supreme principle of our program and of our practice.

Fifth, let us put education, science, culture and health in the front rank of our activities and programs. In this way, let the young generation obtain the fundamental values on the way to an independent life. Everything for young people--that is society's task. Everything for the homeland! [applause]--that is the young people's obligation. May the young generation grow up within the best traditions of our forefathers. May the socialist youth unions bring new values to life. In harmony and accord, may the progress and change of all generations creating the Polish nation come about.

Sixth, Poland is in need. Therefore, let us form a permanent alliance of the forces of common sense and civic responsibility to save the nation and the state from chaos and the decline of its strengths. May concern for Poland and deeds for Poland build the unity of all patriots, both today and in the future.

Seventh, let us restore Poland to a position of strength and dignity among the other nations in the struggle for peace. Let us strengthen our state's credibility as an ally in the socialist community. Let us consolidate for ever Poland's friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union. These will be the leading ideas of our activities.

Citizens! Comrades! Fellow countrymen! From the dais of the extraordinary congress I appeal on behalf of the party to the whole Polish nation, to all fellow countrymen wherever they may be living and working, for solidarity in our great need. The homeland is waiting for your initiatives and good management, your hard work and, if necessary, your self-denials.

Today is not the time for great words. Only great deeds and the everyday effort at work count. The unification of all patriotic forces, and civic responsibility designed to ward off the threat of catastrophy and prudently continue the work of socialist construction--this is the historic command of our days.

We urge such an unification from all political and social forces. Let us not allow the destiny of the nation to be determined by the elements and demagogy, by blind chance or by the ill will of people for whom the good of Poland is a stake in the political game. At the forefront today come elementary issues--the security and independence of the country, the feeding of the nation, the healing of the economy, and the protection of law and order.

Even the best resolutions will constitute only the beginning of the road. In front of us is the hard toil of their realization. We will bear the burdens of the moment only with the help of the whole nation. This is what we appeal for; this is what we expect. I deeply believe that we will manage to do so, that the party will manage. [applause]

Mandate Commission Report

LD142025 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1332 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Report by PZPR Mandate Commission, read by Mandate Commission Chairman Gen Wojciech Baranski at opening session of Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress in Warsaw--live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, delegates. On the basis of the protocols of returning commissions from conferences which have the right to elect delegates, the Mandate Commission elected at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress states that the election of delegates to the ninth extraordinary congress proceeded in accordance with the principles adopted in the resolution of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum concerning the convening of the ninth extraordinary congress and the elections of the delegates to this congress of the 11th Central Committee Plenum and in accordance with the temporary rules of electing authorities and delegates of the PZPR [sentence as heard]. The electoral principles adopted by the 10th plenum made provisions for most of the proposals and demands which were submitted by party organizations and party members. They ensured an unrestricted manner of nominating candidates--the secret character of elections; they widened the right to a direct election of delegates by factory party organizations; and, for the first time they gave the right to direct elections to party organizations in higher education establishments.

A total of 1964 delegates were elected to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress at voivodship and factory conferences and at district conferences of the Polish People's Army. This number includes 365 delegates who were elected directly at party conferences in key production enterprises which have over 482,000 party members. It also includes 16 delegates who were elected at conferences in higher education establishments.

The Mandate Commission recognized the validity of the mandate of 1962 delegates. The validity of one mandate was not recognized. One delegate surrendered his mandate. Thus, a total of two mandates were invalidated. An analysis of the delegates' questionnaires shows that among them there are 438 workers employed directly in production, transportation, construction industry, and social services, including 2 craftsmen--22.3 percent of the congress delegates. Rural party organizations are represented by 180 private farmers and 15 members of agricultural production cooperatives--9.9 percent of the delegates. Delegates representing the groups of working intelligentsia constitute 66.7 percent of the total number of delegates. They include 136 directors of enterprises and factories; 164 representatives of middle management cadre; 60 engineers and technicians; 104 teachers of primary, vocational and secondary schools; 44 lecturers; 50 doctors and pharmacists and 17 journalists. Delegates from working class backgrounds constitute 53.2 percent, and from peasant backgrounds 32 percent. Delegates from the production sector constitute 51.3 percent. Delegates with primary education constitute 10.9 percent; 8.2 percent of the delegates have some vocational and secondary education; 34.7 percent have secondary and technical education; 56.2 percent have incomplete or complete higher education. There are 118 professors, assistant professors and doctors. Two hundred and fifty-two delegates completed party schools, and 683 delegates completed evening courses on Marxism-Leninism.

Thirty-eight delegates are under 29; 598 delegates are between 30-39; 784 delegates are between 40-49; 544 delegates are over 50. There are 108 women among delegates; that is 5.5 percent. One hundred sixty-five delegates belong to youth organizations; 116 of those belong to the Union of Polish Socialist Youth, 41 to the Union of Polish Scouts, 7 to the Union of Rural Youth, and 1 delegate is a member of the Socialist Union of Polish Students.

One thousand ninety-nine delegates belong to the independent self-governing Industrial Branch Trade Unions, that is 56 percent; 405 delegates belong to NSZZ Solidarity, that is 20.6 percent; 18 delegates belong to the Autonomous Trade Unions, that is 0.9 percent; 93 delegates belong to the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations, that is 4.7 percent; and 9 belong to NSZZ Private Farmers Solidarity, that is 0.5 percent. Ten delegates represent pre-World War II workers' movements, and 19 are from the World War II period.

One hundred sixty-nine delegates joined the party before the workers' movement was united. Nine delegates were delegates to the unification congress. Among the delegates, 1,649, or 83.9 percent, have party experience of over 10 years; 745 delegates, or 37.9 percent, have been members of the PZPR for more than 20 years; only 88 delegates have been party members less than 5 years. Delegates elected to the congress for the first time constitute 91 percent of the total.

Among the delegates there are 568 secretaries of primary and departmental party organizations and factory committees; 1,036 members of rural, district, municipal and parish, and parish party organizations; 918 members of voivodship party authorities; and 79 members central party authorities.

There are 394 employees of the party apparatus who are delegates; 299 are employees of municipal and parish, and factory organizations. The central voivodship level is represented by 95 delegates. Two hundred twenty councillors at higher levels and 36 deputies to the Sejm of the PZPR are delegates to the congress. One hundred seventeen delegates took part in the struggle against the invader. Fifty-four delegates have war and military decorations: 12 delegates have received the Order of Builder of People's Poland; 78 delegates have the Order of Banner of Labor of first and second class; 344 have Orders of Polonia Restituta, and 973 delegates have been decorated with Crosses of Merit.

The commission has ascertained that of the 1964 elected delegates 1962 delegates possess valid mandates: 1955 delegates are present at the congress and 7 delegates are absent due to illness. The Mandate Commission declares that the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress is a valid congress for the election of authorities and for adopting resolutions.

Election Proposals

LD141630 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Excerpts] The PZPR Congress session was opened by Stanislaw Kania. The congress began with the matters which are to serve the efficient conduct of this forum. A 203-person Presidium was elected unanimously, as well as a 64 person Secretariat of the congress. Congress commissions were also elected. In addition, a discussion was held concerning the principles of the election of the central party authorities.

As you no doubt know, three proposals have already been submitted in the pre-congress debate: first, that the congress should directly elect the first secretary; second, that the congress should elect the first secretary out of the earlier elected members of the Central Committee; and third, that the newly-elected Central Committee ought to elect the first secretary from among themselves. Historically, the third solution has been used.

During the closed session of the working part of the congress a motion was proposed that the election of the authorities should take place after the delegates have been given the full report of the commission known as the Grabski commission, which was established at the 10th plenum. Therefore, to date a decision on how the party authorities ought to be elected has not been made. It is worth adding that the Grabski commission's report contains a number of suggestions concerning the named former members of the party leadership as well as the issues of mechanisms and institutional guarantees for the future--guarantees which, according to the commission, ought to be included in the PZPR statute.

Procedural Problems

LD142142 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Unidentified radio correspondent's interview with unidentified delegate to Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress in Warsaw, during a break in congress proceedings--recorded]

[Excerpt] [Question] What region of the country do you represent?

[Answer] I represent the Bydgoszcz Voivodship, the party organization in the railway works in (?Nalesniowa). After today, I (?infer) that there is (?to be) a motion for the first secretary with not one candidate, but three--at least three candidacies.

[Question] Yes, comrade?

[Answer] We are facing a great problem. The procedural matters were not completed. We will now probably be fighting in the order of debates for a very important matter. We will be electing a first secretary from among an earlier elected plenum of the Central Committee and that plenum will propose to all the delegates the [word indistinct] of three candidates for first secretary and the congress will take a stand on that--on whom we will choose.

Delegates' Remarks Cited

LD142151 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Excerpt] The PZPR Congress deliberations were adjourned for 2 hours [after the report delivered by Mandate Commission Chairman Gen Wojciech Baranski]. After the break, Jozef Drozdziel, a lecturer at the Warsaw Institute Polytechnic, was the first to speak. Among other things, he stated that the party and the authorities should not avail themselves of scientific achievements only when they find themselves in danger. They ought to do this every day, because using these experiences is an important factor in exercising power. Referring to the process of democratization taking place throughout the country, Jozef Drozdziel said that this process applies both to education establishments and enterprises. It is expdient to speak not only of self-government, but also of self-responsibility for activities in which one indulges.

The next to speak was Miroslaw Major, chief mining engineer at the Staszic mine. Speaking about our present economic situation, he said that the crisis had exhausted our life and was compromising us as regards international opinion. It is high time for our ecoomy to become self-propelled. It is high time that war be declared on the total wastage and mess in every sector. The shortage of products on the market results not from bad work, but from the bad management of the economy. Miroslaw Major said that here at the congress one must definitively remove from power those people who are responsible for the present state of this power. The Katowice Voivodship party organization supports the motion concerning the appointment of a tribunal for this state which would administer justice to the guilty parties.

Poznan Delegate

LD142152 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Excerpt] At the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress which began today in Warsaw, the discussion started in the afternoon is being continued. Those taking the floor are discussing matters most important for the party and the nation.

Jerzy Paschke, a delegate from Poznan Voivodship, pointed in his speech to the need to give absolute priority to agriculture and food husbandry.

The point is, inter alia, to formulate clear and distinct aims--aims which there will be no doubts about. It is high time, he said, to stop empty declarations about aid for agriculture. The farmers of Poznan Voivodship hold the view that Polish agriculture cannot only satisfy the needs of the country, but also produce for export.

Bydgoszcz Delegate

LD142357 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2110 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Speech by Henryk Bednarksi, first secretary of Bydgoszcz Voivodship PZPR Committee, at Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress in Warsaw on 14 July--recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, our Bydgoszcz party organization, which has 100,000 members, acts in exceptionally complicated sociopolitical conditions. There are two fundamental regional conditioning factors which are superimposed on the situation which has come about in Poland as a whole. The first is the particularly harsh contradiction which has developed in the Bydgoszcz Voivodship between on the one hand, the developing economic potential and the qualifications of cadres, and on the other hand, social relations. The latter were burdened down by bad traditions and by a certain stagnation upon which misconceived stabilization of cadres, among other things, had a bearing. The second important conditioning factor in our party work is connected with the character of the leadership of the regional organization of Solidarity. In order to avoid misunderstandings, I want to stress clearly that the leadership of the voivodship committee and the entire voivodship party organization completely understand the great social role of the new trade unions. There is a sincere desire to cooperate with them on many levels, just as we do with the Industrial Branch and the Autonomous Trade Unions. We have given practical proof of this more than once, but the effects of these efforts are visible only on the level of some worksites where relations between the party organizations, the branch unions and NSZZ Solidarity have favorably shaped themselves. However, the political extremism and intransigence of the leading group of the regional board of Solidarity in Bydgoszcz make cooperation with it unusually difficult. I am not concerned here with past matters, particularly the so-called Bydgoszcz events, that are known to the country in a largely exaggerated and one-sided version; I am concerned with the most recent statements and actions, particularly those of the chairman of the Bydgoszcz regional borad of NSZZ Solidarity. At a general congress of delegates from the whole region held several days ago, he stated his support for a conception of Solidarity as a social movement without mincing his words and with what I would call a clearly oppositional and antisocialist character. He also demanded that the union should create its own organizational structures parallel to the apparatus of the authorities. It is contrary to Solidarity's statute to make their organization a political party, especially one with a clear--I stress once again--antisocialist character. Actions of this sort undermine the principles of our system and certainly have nothing in common with the struggle for socialist renewal. [applause]

ZSL Leader's Speech

LD150942 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2110 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Speech by Stefan Ignar, ZSL Supreme Committee chairman, at the 14 July session of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress in Warsaw--recorded]

[Text] Citizen delegates: On behalf of the 480,000 members of the ZSL I greet you who have gathered for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. Your deliberations are accompanied by the nation's special interest and the hope that wise and patriotic decisions made by the congress will point the way to finding a way out of the deep political and economic crisis and the threat to the state's existence.

Taking part with you in the struggle for the supreme good of the nation and for an independent and sovereign state, for the Polish People's Republic, are all ZSL members, peasants and agricultural workers who, in favorable atmospheric conditions, but without sufficient quantities of industrial means of production, and during social unrest, have produced abundant agricultural yields. Now everything has to be done to make sure that grain crops, oil-bearing and root crops, are carefully gathered in, are protected against losses and processed.

The fruitful toil of farmworkers gives us the opportunity to start an effective turnabout in the direction of improving the national economy.

Poland's position in Europe and the world is molded by the strength of our state and its economy and by the level of the internal integration of society. I shall remind you of instances of obstacles which still exist and which hamper the advance of this integration. One of these obstacles is the inconsistent elimination of privileges and the unequal nature of supplies. There is a lack of information about the lowest and highest earnings from the Main Statistical Office. An example of this is the new publication which has been handed to delegates bearing the title: "Poland in 1970-80."

I shall give you an example in the economic sphere of the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Agriculture and Foodstuff Economy disregarding the basic condition for achieving an increase in plant production--that is, the program for the improvement of arable land and grassland. The guidelines of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and the ZSL Supreme Committee Presidium established in January of this year that in the matter of key issues pertaining to agricultural policy, agriculture and the foodstuff economy, and I quote: the area of improved land will increase from about 700,000 hectares in the last 5-year period to 1.4 million hectares in the 1981-85 period. And what happens? In July we receive from the said ministries a land improvement draft for the 5-year period which has been cut to 900,000 hectares because there will be a lack of pipes, excavators, bulldozers, trucks and so on. This shows how the slogan "Everything for agriculture" has been trivialized.

The investment on heavy industry (?is) meant to be reduced and enough materials and equipment found for the modest land improvement plan--an average of 280,000 hectares annually--note proposals that this plan be reduced to 180,000 hectares annually, whether or not this is all earmarked for agriculture.

The system of calculations for agriculture must be reversed. One must not define the size of areas of land to be improved according to how much clay has to be kilned for drainage pipes, but according to how much grain we shall need, because one should be aware that 1 hectare of improved good ground will give per year over 50 years, if good conservation is carried out, a yield which is 5 quintals higher per hectare. One million hectares of drained fields mean over a period of 5 years an additional yield of 2.5 million tons of grain.

Improvements to land which are not accessible to heavy machinery and which are not enriched with fertilizers to land on which one can carry out early sowing and can gather the harvest in a wet fall is the best and cheapest method as opposed to all subsequent modern methods of agricultural economy. Ten years ago our proposal on land improvement tasks was not adopted by the Politburo of that time. Today we are suffering from a shortage of foodstuff and we are losing foreign currency on imports. Therefore the ZSL Supreme Committee Presidium has authorized me to mention this matter at your extraordinary congress.

In conclusion I convey to you, comrades, warm wishes that you might define as correctly as possible ways of pulling our fatherland out of decline and of introducing renewed and democratic socialism in cooperation with the fraternal social classes of workers and peasants and with our fraternal parties. [applause]

Democratic Party Leader

LD142315 Warsaw PAP in English 2152 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Jul (PAP)--Addressing the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress today, Chairman of the Democratic Party's Central Committee Edward Kowalczyk wished the assembly a fruitful debate and said his party, like all Polish society, pins its "hopes, its expectations for getting out of the crisis and for a better future for Polish development, on the congress debate and the decisions to be taken in its course."

"Basing on our party's political programme, spelled out in the decisions taken at our 21th congress, we will take part in the actions aimed to reach these goals," he declared.

"The Democratic Party considers the good of the nation, society, and the man effected through socialist democracy in the Polish state as the basic aim of its activities, and while taking up the ideas and tasks of democratic renewal it invariably endorses socialism and further socialist development of this country, the durability of her alliances within the socialist commonwealth, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, and the leading role of the working class's party in socialist building. Our ideological and political identity is defined by the [words indistinct] democracy and socialism as the two aspects of the homogeneous process of social development," Kowalczyk declared.

"The unity of basic aims led to the formation of the allied political system composed of the three parties: The PUWP, the UPP and the DP, and each of the three should contribute to the system what is best in its political experience."

"Socialism in Poland now needs a political authority whose power be based on democracy, effected through representation bodies and self-management institutions. There is the need for a strong government characterized by consistency of action. There is also need for discipline, practical political commonsense, and social and political unity of the nation, the unity which underlay and continues to underlie the foundation and the functioning of the tripartite alliance. This [word indistinct] which makes it possible to start overcoming the [words indistinct]--first towards a state of citizens whose basic needs will be satisfied, and then--towards a state with a sophisticated organizational culture, which would finally turn into a country of people satisfied that they live in socialist Poland."

"No matter what our starting point is, however, the socialist renewal under way in this country is inevitably getting us through a phase of profound and exceedingly tough reforms, the economic reform of fundamental importance among them. The latter needs to be a system reform so that it does not end up as a casual reaction. It should cover all matters, including the extremely vital sphere of services and handicraft, alongside small-scale industry, a field where a joint PUWP-DP policy is in force. We submit our proposals concerning these issues to your party for consideration, as we did in the case of such matters as improvement in the functioning of the socio-political system and its institutions, youth, science, education, culture, law, its observance, etc. We can say with satisfaction that the PUWP is offering us ever closer partner-like cooperation, as was indicated in Stanislaw Kania's report."

"Your debates are accompanied by our conviction that following your decision we will set out on a common way to feature the processes of socialist renewal, overcoming of difficulties, and getting onto the road of progress."

Further Delegate Speeches

LD150926 Warsaw PAP in English 0809 GMT 15 Jul 81

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 15 Jul (PAP)--Already first speeches in yesterday's debate confirmed that delegates to the extraordinary congress are aware of their responsibilities, of the immensity of social expectations and hopes.

The Poles expect the supreme party forum to overcome the inertia, and usher in transformations that will move the vital issues of the ground.

Henryk Kubiak (clothing plant in Zgierz): "We're spinning around like in a vicious circle of ineptitude; we debate, demand, write protests and resolutions, but we aren't going forward. Let's get out of this vicious circle. We must regain credibility in our own country and among the other communist parties. We want to have a strong leadership which will say: social agreement--yes, cooperation--yes, but all to implement the socialist renewal. The Ninth Congress won't resolve all the problems, won't fill in the food baskets, but it must give a start to changes in our country in which the reborn, strong party will play the leading role."

Jozef Drozdziel, Warsaw Institute of Technology: We must do whatever is possible. Science is one of the few long-range reserves which must be utilized. Ensuring openness of scientists' views is an indispensable condition of a dialogue with them. Let the public authority substantiate its negative attitude towards their opinions, let us substantiate the choice of alternatives, then it will be easier to say who is responsible. The basic thing today is to check the accelerating slide of the nation's economy into the precipice.

Miroslwa Major, Staszic coal mine, Kotowice: The lack of goods in the market does not result from poor work of the working class but malfunctioning and mismanagement of the economy. Therefore, the Ninth Congress should remove from the central links those people who, while holding top-level posts, have proven unable to prevent the destructive process of economic slump.

Jozef Kaleta, president of Economics Academy in Wroclaw: The chief cause of the deepening economic crisis is the delay in implementing the reform. Those people who advise the government to wait with the reform till the economic balance is restored are largely responsible for the complete disintegration of our economy. The Polish society must not conform to the propagated opinion that in the immediate years the situation will be even worse than it is now. The use--if only a partial use--of the existing reserves, the liquidation of the losses caused by nonsense solutions could markedly improve the effects of management and raise the living standard of the people. The ensurance of independence to industrial enterprises will release powerful human and material reserves.

Czeslaw Stepien, Nowki steelworks, Ostrowiec Swietokrzyskie: we all are aware of the fact that at present we must curb the investment drive. We believe however that all those started investment projects which would take little funds to complete, should continue. It would be uneconomical to freeze billions only to save up several hundred millions.

There is much to indicate that the congress will be turned more towards the future than the past. Yet, our contemporary history has chapters which cannot be passed over without [words indistinct].

General [name indistinct], vice-minister of national defence: As party members, citizens and soldiers, we are deeply interested in [word indistinct] removal of chaos and anarchy, the stability of the social life in the country, in the strengthening of the prestige of authority and the state. Nobody can count on leniency if he stirs up others against our political system, the party, against the alliances--especially with the Soviet Union.

Gdansk Delegate

LD142204 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1910 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] Here is what Jan Labecki, first secretary of the Gdansk shipyard PZPR Committee, said today at the plenary session of the Ninth PZPR Congress: I have always looked on the problems of Poland, he said, with the eyes of a worker, and I took into account my own experiences and those of my own worksite's team.

The Gdansk shipyard workers experienced August as something painful. And now they will not agree to be without influence on the future development of events. They will not accept unknown perspectives but also wish for a full explanation of the past [word indistinct]. Jan Labecki proposed the appointment of a commission to deal with a full explanation of the December 1970 tragedy on the coast.

Jan Labecki then said that the workers' expectations with regard to the future can be described most simply as follows: they want everything that has been abnormal to become normal. The congress has to reply to the question of how to do this. It is certain a way out can be found only through work. The Gdansk shipyard has proven this is possible. What is needed for this is the cooperation of all social forces in the area of the worksite, and cooperation of this sort can also be achieved, though not without certain difficulties.

Speaking of the (?creation) of a party program, the speaker said what is needed [words indistinct] is a broader consideration of the traditions of the working class, including the tradition of the struggle for workers' rights, both in the more distant and in the recent past. Jan Labecki reckoned that the struggles for unity and for overcoming the differences of views (?and) regional interests were among the essential tasks of the party and of the program currently being drafted.

Krakow Delegate

LD150954 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2110 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Speech by Kazimierz Minura, first secretary of Lenin steelworks committee and Krakow delegate, at Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress on 14 July--recorded]

[Text] A historic reponsibility rests with this present extraordinary congress for the election to the central authorities of comrades who are credible, who enjoy respect, and for the adoption of a program which will answer the expectations of society and fulfill the hopes of party members expressed in numerous postulates. This is a basic precondition to maintaining unity in the party, as well as the link between the party and society. The danger of a breaking-up of the party exists and is a real one. And we must take this into account during the present session and while making decisions. I have not come out onto this tribune in order to present my own divagations on the theme of party unity. My voice is the feeling of the 8,000-strong party organization of Lenin steelworks and (?the workers) of Krakow. Fifty percent of the Krakow delegation in this hall are from among these workers. As we understand it, how should party unity be constructed? The answer is unambiguous: through democracy in intraparty life and through support [oparcie] for the leadership in the party masses. So far, party unity has been interpreted in a manner that contradicts the Leninist principles of its functioning. It has felt that unity must be uncritical, centrally imposed and directed. Party unity has been reduced to falsely conceived loyalty to leaders.

At the ninth congress we stand (?before) a great chance: of building party unity on the basis of a program which the whole party (?has) worked (?out) in discussions at all organizational levels. We must make use of this chance in full. In the congress documents we must define what the tasks of the PZPR are as a force building democracy within socialism and what goals we must fulfill with regard to the nation. The unity of our party must be built without violating the policy of renewal and social agreement. This unity in renewal and agreement is being threatened, however, by extremists: those in solidarity and those in the party. They are equally dangerous. The extremists in Solidarity are trying to draw the nation into a dangerous game for an unknown tomorrow. The extremists in the party dream of times that are past. They do not come from--and they meet with no applause among--the workers' circles. But there they are and they are dangerous.

At this extraordinary congress we must elect credible party authorities which will continue the process of renewal. We must elect [words indistinct] Politburo and a credible Central Committee capable of leading the party. Therefore, I see a need to introduce representatives of workers' circles to the Politburo. I am aware of the great responsibility that weighs upon us with regard to the future of the party and Poland. And all delegates doubtless feel this, too. The documents which the present extraordinary congress is to adopt must be worked through to the end. This task has been entrusted to us. That is also why I state my support for continuing with the congress until final and constructive versions, both of the statute and the program, are reached. [applause]

Grishin Delivers Speech

For the TASS English "full text" of the speech given by CPSU Central Committee Politburo member V. V. Grishin at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, see page F 4 of the 15 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT. The TASS version has been found to be identical to the Warsaw PAP and Warsaw Domestic Service versions.

Army Official Speaks

LD142154 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Excerpt] The next speaker [after the speech by Soviet delegation leader Viktor Grishin] in the plenary discussion [at the Ninth PZPR Congress] was Division General Jozef Baryla, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Armed Forces at the Ministry of National Defense. The program which has been drawn up by the party is being implemented in conditions in which antisocialist forces are actively supported by political subversion centers, he said. The general stressed that the Armed Forces had voiced their resolute support for a renewal which the party has proposed and is implementing.

[Begin Baryla recording] The Armed Forces have come to the congress with a fair bit of achievement. The precongress congress in the Armed Forces confirmed that in the Army we have a strong and politically mature party organization. During discussions profound concern was expressed for the fates of the party and nation. An undercurrent of creative criticism was dominant. This criticism was aimed at perfecting the life of the Army and party activity.

The best comrades have been elected to the party authorities. This is a guarantee for correct party-political work in military units. The precongress campaign livened up the activity of people and produced many specific suggestions and proposals. We shall constantly support this "livening up" and we shall scrupulously use the suggestions and proposals in everyday work. [end recording]

Olszowski Elected to Presidium

LD142022 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1930 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Excerpts] The first day of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress has ended. The afternoon and evening sessions of the debate were filled with discussion.

During today's congress, the first meeting of the statutory committee of the ninth congress took place. It elected an 11-person Presidium. Zdzislaw Kurowski was elected chairman. He is a secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and a congress delegate from the Ciechanow Voivodship.

the Decisions and Resolutions Commission also held its first meeting. Professor Hieronim Kubiak of the Jagiellonian University was elected chairman. It has been decided that the commission's Presidium will consist of the chairmen of the groups set up within the commission to deal with individual chapters of the program resolution of the ninth congress.

The Presidium also includes Stefan Olszowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee, the delegate from the Warsaw voivodship. The next plenary meeting of this commission will be held tomorrow.

NINTH PZPR CONGRESS RESUMES DISCUSSION 15 JULY

Closed Session Begins

LD150732 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 15 Jul 81

[Excerpts] I remind you that today, at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, there will be a discussion on the Central Committee report presented by Stanislaw Kania. The delegates have already assembled about half an hour ago at a closed session, that means with no one apart from themselves. As announced yesterday evening, the plenary debate of the ninth congress will begin at 1030 [0830 GMT].

Procedural Matters Decided

LD151242 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 15 Jul 81

[Text] Before resuming the plenary debate, the congress deliberations took place behind closed doors with the participation of the delegates only. Proceudral matters were resumed in the discussion, particularly those connected with the rules for the elections to the central party authorities.

It was decided that the election of the first secretary of the Central Committee, members and candidate members of the Central Committee, members of the Central Auditing Commission and the Central Party Control Commission will be carried out by the congress by secret ballot. The elections have the force of law if at least two-thirds of the number of delegates present at the congress take part in them. Those people are held to have been elected who get in turn [kolejno] the largest number and more than 50 percent of the valid votes.

It was decided that the right to stand as a candidate will be possessed by meritorious activists of the workers' movement who are not delegates, Feliks Baranowski, Feliksja Fornalska, Franciszek Ksiezarczyk, Jerzy Putrament and Michal Rola-Zymierski. In this way the congress expresses its highest recognition and respect for their longstnading, self-sacrificing and worthy service to the party and the country.

It was also decided that the Central Committee will number 200 members and 70 candidate members.

It was also decided that the candidates for the post of first secretary will be decided by the newly elected Central Committee. With the authorization of the Central Committee, the candidates will be presented to the congress, for confirmation in an open ballot by the chairman of the deliberations. The Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress will elect the first secretary by secret ballot. He will simultaneously become a member of the Central Committee Politburo.

Discussing the principles for choosing and putting forward candidates for the PZPR central authorities, it was decided that each delegate has the right to put forward candidates for all the authorities.

Lists of names of candidates for the authorities contained in the bulletin of the Electoral Commission will be accepted by the congress in an open ballot, by a simple majority of the votes. Also in an open ballot, on the motion of the newly elected Central Committee, the congress will decide on the number of members and candidate members of the Politburo, secretaries and members of the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

The candidates will be proposed by the first secretary of the Central Committee and the members of the Central Committee; the election will be carried out by the Central Committee by secret ballot.

At the moment a break in the debate for lunch is in progress.

Election Principles

LD151028 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 15 Jul 81

[Jerzy Motyka report--live]

[Text] The congress resumed its deliberations at 0830 behind closed doors. The principles of the elections to the central party authorities were decided on. Here are some of the more important decisions: the candidates for the post of first secretary of the Central Committee will be selected by the newly elected Central Committee. With the authorization of the Central Committee, the chairman of the deliberations will present three candidacies to the congress for confirmation in an open vote. The ninth extraordinary party congress will elect a first secretary by secret ballot. The first secretary elected will thus simultaneously become a member of the Central Committee Politburo.

Next, the next successive principles concerning the procedure for choosing candidates for, and electing the central party authorities were decided: members and candidate members of the Central Committee; the Central Auditing Commission; and the Central Party Control Commission. The election will be made by the congress by secret ballot.

It was also decided that the number of members and candidate members of the Politburo and secretaries and members of the Secretariat of the Central Committee will be determined by the congress in an open vote by a motion of the Central Committee. The candidates will be proposed by the first secretary of the Central Committee and the members of the Central Committee. The election will be carried out by the Central Committee by secret ball t. It was recognized in the discussion that, at the moment of approval of a new PZPR statute, the electoral principles will possibly be augmented due to the supreme role of the statute among party documents.

An hour ago, the plenary discussion was resumed. The deliberations are being chaired by Jan Malecki, director of the state farm combine in (?ZXAKRZE) in Opole Voivodship.

The first speaker was (Mariam Otawa), senior navigation officer in the maritime shipping port in Szczecin.

Next to speak was Eugeniusz Mroz, first secretary of the Opole Voivodship party committee. This was followed by a speech by Antonin Kapek, leader of the CPCZ delegation, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, and chief secretary of the Prague CPCZ Committee. Next to speak was Mariam Marek, quality controller in the truck factory in Lublin.

Directly after the conclusion of the closed part of the deliberations, the congress press spokesman and editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA LUDU, Wieslaw Bek, had a meeting with journalists. He expressed the opinion that it is expected that the congress will end on the envisaged date. However, if the deliberations have to be extended, this will undoubtedly only be by some dozen hours.

Plenary Debate Resumes

LD151104 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 15 Jul 81

[Text] The Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress resumed its plenary debate at 1030. It is attended by invited guests. The debate was chaired by Jan Malecki, director of the PGR combinat in Zakrze, in Opole Voivodship. Marian Otawa, the first delegate to speak today, who is senior navigator of the Polish Steamship Company in Szczecin, devoted his speech to maritime issues. He said that the situation in which our country finds itself demands a slowing down of the process of constantly deepening economic crisis, and only a comprehensive assessment of the situation can indicate suitable solutions. The congress should provide an incentive otherwise the party will never regain its credibility. The fundamental issue now is how to feed the nation, Marian Otawa said, and added that it is no less important to extricate ourselves from the so-called debt trap. In resolving both of these problems an essential role should be played by the maritime economy. Marian Otawa said among other things that the transloading capacity of port installations has been diminishing; we are beginning to lose our competitiveness with other countries. The speaker criticized views recommending the liquidation of deep-sea fishing.

Next to speak was the first secretary of the voivodship party committee in Opole, Eugeniusz Mroz. He said that one of the most important problems facing the ninth congress is the reconstruction of the unity of the PZPR and its consolidation to serve as a foundation for overcoming the crisis. He stressed that the final achievement of the congress must be the reflection of constructive element in all currents represented by the delegates. The situation in which the PZPR leadership makes decisions of great importance for the country and which bear major results, without consultation, cannot be repeated.

15 July Speakers

LD151332 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 15 Jul 81

[Text] Matters concerning the party and the economy are the main topics of today's debate at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress in Warsaw. It is being stressed above all that the most important task of the congress is to provide guarantees that another political and economic crisis will not materialize in the future.

This has been pointed out by Jan Janicki, director of rolling stock repair works in Ostrow Wielkopolski in Kalisz Voivodship. He said that we must first carry out the final bringing to book of those responsible for the current crisis. The questions of settling accounts ought to prove the strength of the party and its ability to purge itself.

Andrzej Gdula, first secretary to the party voivodship committee in Bielsko-Biala, stressed that the crisis experienced by our country is at the same time a crisis of the Marxist-Leninist party governing it. Andrzej Gdula said: We have found [words indistinct]. But it must constitute an organism in which elements of centralism and democracy are coordinated. It is impossible to allow a split of this principle into two separate links in which centralism is for the top of the party while the grassroots are demanding democracy.

Eugeniusz Mroz, first secretary of the party voivodship committee in Opole, stressed that the situation must not be repeated in which the PZPR leadership has made decisions, which have had great importance for the country and which have had significant results, without consultation.

Economic issues were dealt with by Marian Marek, foreman and quality controller in the Lublin truck factory, and Marian Otawa, senior navigation officer of the Polish Steamship Company in Szczecin.

Marian Marek concentrated on issues concerning the car industry. He was particularly perturbed by a clear decline in the development of the car industry and discrepancies apparent in many of its fields. The speaker formulated a motion, saying that in order to ensure a correct development of the country's economy, the congress should recognize it as desirable to guarantee conditions for the further expansion of the motor industry.

On the other hand, Marian Otawa spoke on maritime economy and pointed to the declining capacity for the handling of cargo by our port installations. We cease to be a competitor for other countries and Polish shipowners are at the same time forced to avail themselves of repairs in foreign shipyards, he said.

Today's debate was not lacking in controversy. Alojzy Czech, foreman in the department of mechanized roadworks, Warsaw east, urged that one should refrain from criticism even if justified and bitter. It does not fill the shop shelves, he said.

The congress also heard more speeches by chairmen of foreign delegations. Greetings to the participants in the congress were conveyed by Antonin Kapek, chairman of the CPCZ delegation; Werner Felfe of the SED; and Vo Nguyen Giap of the Vietnamese Communist Party.

CPCZ's Kapek Speaks

LD151034 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 15 Jul 81

[Text] The first foreign speaker at today's plenary debate was Antonin Kapek, head of the CPCZ delegation, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chief secretary of the Prague regional Communist Party committee. He said that the events in Poland are giving rise to serious disquiet in our country. We remember the subversive activities of antisocialist and counterrevolutionary forces in 1968 and 1969 in Czechoslovakia. For our nation, the direction which the development of events in Poland is taking is and cannot be a matter of indifference, stated the head of the CPCZ delegation.

SED's Felfe Speech

LD151230 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1029 GMT 15 Jul 81

["Text" of address by Werner Felfe, leader of the SED delegation to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary, at the 15 July session of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress in Warsaw]

[Text] Warsaw, 15 Jul (ADN)--I would like to convey to you and all Polish communists on the occasion of your ninth extraordinary congress the fighting greetings of the SED Central Committee and its general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker, and all communists in the GDR and wish you success in your deliberations.

The citizens of our republic are following developments in socialist Poland and at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress with great attention. This is because they are aware of the PZPR's great responsibility for the fate of socialism in Poland, for the well-being of the Polish people. This is a result of the fraternal internationalist solidarity brought forth by Marxism-Leninism and which has forged our alliance and our cooperation.

It is of the greatest interest to GDR communists that People's Poland fully occupies its place in the socialist community as a strong, socialist worker and peasant state, and that the positions of people's power in your country are protected and consolidated. We wish for our Polish class brothers that they can work undisturbed and that they benefit from the fruits of their labor.

We fully support the CPSU Central Committee letter to the PZPR Central Committee.

It also expresses our opinion. We want to express the hope that you possess sufficient strength to counteract the antisocialist, counterrevolutionary forces.

As you know, we are fighting with all the fraternal countries against those revanchist forces in the FRG who dream of letting "the German Reich" rise again within the 1937 borders. All these plans of the forces hostile to socialism are doomed to failure. Today, the border to the west of the Elbe and the Werra is our common line of defense which is reliably protected by the Warsaw Pact states.

German communists, the SED, have for many decades been linked with Polish communists, the PZPR, by a revolutionary fighting alliance which is one of the best traditions of the German and Polish revolutionary workers' movement. This alliance was directed in the twenties at protecting the young Soviet state and later to rebuffing the danger of fascism and war. When the fascist night fell over Germany, when the Nazi perpetrators of murder and arson covered Poland and all Europe with war, the German communists and antifascists, in the spirit of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, Julion Marchlewski and Leo Jogiches, in the spirit of Ernst Thaelmann, raised even higher the banner of the struggle against the class enemy, against fascist barbarity.

We shall never forget that it was the Soviet Union which also brought our people liberation from fascism. We shall always do everything possible to further consolidate and strengthen the alliance with the party of Lenin and the Soviet Union, with the community of socialist states.

Through the existence and strengthening of the People's Republic of Poland and the GDR, the border between our two countries--which for a thousand years had been made into a border of enmity and hatred between nations by the systems of exploitation--has become a border of peace and international friendship. The times of the partition of Poland by the monarchies surrounding the country are past. Today Poland lives within secure borders. Socialism and the alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states of our community have made it possible for it to shape its own future.

It will always remain the historic merit of we communists, in the spirit of common class duty, to have indicated and successfully progressed along the path which allowed the deep division between our peoples to be overcome. In the decades of socialist construction much has been achieved by joint work that benefits both peoples, and which has brought them closer together. This course has stood the test of history. The SED will continue to follow it firmly and unswervingly.

This is the course of doing everything that is beneficial for the good-neighborly coexistence and friendship between our peoples, for strengthening socialist Poland and the socialist GDR, for our socialist community of states, their historic mission and their policy of peace.

Our friendship and cooperation are of great importance. We are of the same view as you that we must do everything possible to destroy the hopes and speculations of our enemies. Our unity in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, particularly our friendship with the Soviet Union, are achievements of both our peoples which we must jealously protect.

Comrades, the efforts of GDR workers, led by our party, are aimed at purposefully implementing the decisions of the 10th congress. We want to meet the high demands of the eighties by linking the advantages of socialism even more closely with the scientific-technological revolution and by increasing the effectiveness of social work. Improved performance should continue to increase the well-being of every working person.

The workers, cooperative peasants and intelligentsia in our country understand this policy well and are helping to develop it. Evidence of this is the plan fulfillment during the first half of 1981. The targets for industrial goods production in the economy, for example, were overfulfilled by 1.5 percent. Production was M9 billion higher. [as received] We are ahead of plan by 1.9 working days, an increase of 5.4 percent on a working-day basis compared with the same period last year. Labor productivity rose by 5.4 percent. In socialist agriculture too, animal production plans have been fulfilled. With regard to the population's net incomes, we can record a growth of 3.3 percent, the same increase as in retail trade turnover.

The positive results in the development of our country were a result of the joint efforts of our party, the FDGB, the FDJ, and all friendly parties and social organizations. In the people's elections this June, the people unanimously demonstrated their trust in the tested leadership of the SED and in the socialist state which reliably organizes the life of society and protects the interests of its citizens.

Constructive solutions to the problems that life brings with it are sought and found in cooperation between all social forces. The creative application of Marxism-Leninism to our specific conditions, and conscious, disciplined, purposeful work under the leadership of the party are the basic elements of our policy and of social practice in our country. In this approach we know that we are at one with the fraternal parties of the socialist community, from whose experience our party derives valuable impulses for its activity.

Comrades, now especially, when aggressive circles of the imperialist states, with the United States in the van, are following a course of confrontation and arms buildup, and are increasing the danger of war, there is no more important task than that of preserving peace and making it more secure. The people living in Poland and the GDR today know all too well the horrors of war and the terrible consequences of the destruction of human life and national wealth.

Socialism and peace are one. Stronger socialism means stronger, more secure peace.

Thus, we in the GDR see it as our historic responsibility to ensure that no war ever again emanates from German soil. This is not easy in a time when the FRG by way of its official policy is being prepared for a nuclear war with new U.S. nuclear medium-range missles. In a common front with the Soviet Union, the other fraternal countries and peace-loving people throughout the world we are devoting all our strength to preserving and consolidating peace. That is why we support the peace program announced by the 26th CPSU Congress and the peace appeal issued by the USSR Supreme Soviet to all parliaments and peoples of the world.

Comrade delegates, the SED delegation wishes the PZPR congress results which serve the well-being of the Polish working class and all workers, the strengthening of socialist Poland and the solidarity of our community.

Long live Marxism-Leninism.

Long live the friendship between our peoples.

Long live socialism and peace.

RADIO COVERAGE FOR PZPR CONGRESS REPORTED

LD142243 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1950 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] I would like to remind you now about the radio service for the Ninth PZPR Congress.

On Warsaw I we shall broadcast a program block daily at 0730 [0530 GMT] containing reports and comments under the title: Yesterday at the Congress. In this program we shall present talks and comments as well as reports. Apart from this, two other program blocks containing reports will be broadcast:

First, a program about 1-hour long at 1710 [1510 GMT] and a second one also an hour long, at 2300 [2100 GMT].

We shall devote a lot of space to the congress in the news bulletins at 0700 [0500 GMT], 1400 [1200 GMT], 1900 [1700 GMT] and the magazine programs "From Home and Abroad" at 1205 [1005 GMT] and 2200 [2000 GMT]. So much for Warsaw I.

On Warsaw II, a congress studio program is active from 0900 [0700 GMT], presenting current information on the progress of the congress, reports from home and abroad and reports on the work of congress commissions.

We plan to increase the number of news bulletins broadcast on Warsaw II. They will be broadcast at 0930 [0730 GMT], 1130 [0930 GMT], 1330 [1130 GMT], 1530 [1330 GMT], 1830 [1630 GMT], 2030 [1830 GMT], and 2130 [1930 GMT].

Warsaw III daily devotes to congress business a 5-minute program at 0630 [0430 GMT], a 10-minute program at 0730 [0530 GMT], and a 10-minute program at 1700 [1500 GMT].

The times of the news bulletins have changed slightly: we shall broadcast them at 0800 [0600 GMT], 1030 [0830 GMT], 1200 (1000 GMT], 1500 [1300 GMT], and 1920 [1720 GMT]. At 2200 [2000 GMT] as usual the "Facts of the Day" will contain a summary of the congress deliberation for the day which is then ending.

Warsaw IV plans to inform listeners about the congress in bulletins at 0600 [0400 GMT], 1200 [1000 GMT], 1600 [1400 GMT] and 2300 [2100 GMT].

MORE DELEGATIONS ARRIVE FOR PZPR CONGRESS

Cuba's Rodriguez

FL131230 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1000 GMT 13 Jul 81

[Text] Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, member of the Cuban Communist Party Politburo, is heading the Cuban delegation which will attend the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress which is to be held in Warsaw on 14 July. The Cuban leader has arrived in Warsaw, where he was welcomed by Mieczyslaw Moczar, member of the PZPR Politburo.

Vietnam's Nguyen Giap

OW141611 Hanoi VNA in English 1536 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] Hanoi, 14 July (VNA)--A Vietnamese party delegation led by Vo Nguyen Giap, Political Bureau member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee, arrived in Warsaw on Monday to attend the Ad Hoc 9th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party.

It was greeted at the airport by Roman Ney, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and others.

FOREIGN DELEGATIONS ATTEND CEREMONIES 14 JULY

LD141652 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] After the speech by Viktor Grishin, the discussion at the PZPR Congress continued.

Lt Gen Jozef Baryla, vice minister of national defense and chief of the main political board of the Polish Army, spoke.

During today's congress debates, the first session of the Appeals Commission of the ninth extraordinary congress of the party took place. Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State and congress delegate from the Tarnow Voivodship, was elected chairman of the commission. The commission held an initial discussion on the regulations, the principles of the commission's work. They established a deadline of 21 July for accepting appeals.

This morning the foreign delegations participating in the ninth extraordinary congress took part in a flower laying ceremony at the tomb of the unknown soldier. Flowers were laid by the delegations of the CPSU, the CPCZ, the SED, MSZMP, BCP, RCP, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Cuban Communist Party, the Vietnamese Communist Party, and the LCY. The leaders of the foreign delegations wrote their names in the visitors' book.

The delegations of the fraternal communist and workers' parties then visited the cemetery of soldiers of the Soviet Army to pay tribute to the memory of Soviet soldiers fallen in the battles with German fascism for the freedom of Poland. The ceremony began with the playing of the Polish and Soviet national anthems. After the laying of flowers, the band of the representative company of the Polish Army played the Internationale. Then the representatives of the foreign delegates signed the visitors' book.

SED Delegation Lays Wreaths

LD141356 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1052 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw 14 Jul (ADN correspondent)--The SED delegation to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, led by Werner Felfe, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee today laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Warsaw. The band on the wreath carries the message "To The Fighters for People's Poland--Delegation of the SED."

Werner Felfe then entered his name in the tomb's book of remembrance. In front of the tomb was a guard of honor formed by Polish Army soldiers.

The SED delegation then laid a wreath at the Polish capital's Soviet monument to Soviet soldiers who fell in the struggle for Warsaw. In silence they honored the memory of the 600,000 heroes of the Soviet Army who lost their lives in liberating Poland from fascist occupation. The message on the wreath's band reads "To the Eternal Glory of The Soviet Heroes--Delegation of The SED."

On the same day the CPSU delegation, led by Viktor Grishin, and the other delegations of socialist countries attending the party congress also laid wreaths at the two monuments.

GOMULKA SAYS KANIA INVOLVED IN 1970 REPRESSION

NC151155 Paris AFP in English 1134 GMT 15 Jul 81

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 15 Jul (AFP)--A document charging that communist party secretary Stanislaw Kania was personally involved in the bloody repression of worker demonstrators in the Baltic ports in December 1970 was circulated at the 9th party congress yesterday as delegates prepared to vote his re-election, conference sources said today.

Observers here believed the document, a letter from Wladislaw Gomulka, removed as party secretary over the 1970 incidents, accounted for the unexpected decision yesterday not to vote on Mr Kania's reappointment at the opening of the congress.

The letter, addressed to the party Politburo, was to be published last week in RZECSYWISTOSC magazine, launched recently by pro-Moscow hardliners, but was stopped by censors, a reliable source said.

Mr. Gomulka, who stepped down in favour of Edward Gierek, who lost his job to Mr. Kania last year during the Baltic strikes that forced the government to recognize the independent trade union Solidarity, said that Mr. Kania, then responsible for administrative affairs in the Central Committee, had taken part in all decisions on the riots.

Mr. Gomulka insinuated that his part in the 1970 decisions explained the current party secretary's support of the former party secretary for Gdansk, Stanislaw Kociolek.

Mr. Kociolek, whom Polish public opinion holds responsible for the order to security forces to fire on workers, was made first secretary for Warsaw last November.

Congress sources said today that many of the 1,964 delegates had been shaken by the charges and had lost confidence in Mr. Kania.

WARSAW CITES SOVIET GENERAL ON POLISH SOVEREIGNTY

LD150120 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 15 Jul 81

[Text] In connection with the current Extraordinary PZPR Congress, Nikolay Kolosov, deputy chairman of the Central Board of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society [title as heard], participant in the struggles to liberate Poland, appeared at the microphones of Moscow Radio.

Among other items he stressed the joint responsibility of the Soviet Union and People's Poland for socialism and peace. General Kilosov added that the difficulties Poland is currently experiencing are seriously worrying the citizens of the land of the soviets. This was expressed in the letter from the CPSU Central Committee to the PZPR Central Committee. This letter was dictated by a friendly interest in the PZPR and the whole Polish nation, in People's Poland, a Warsaw Pact and CEMA member-state. The main thoughts contained in this letter found expression in the resolution of the PZPR Central Committee's 12th Plenum. After recalling the other contents of the CPSU Central Committee's letter, General Kilosov stated that the safety of Poland's borders, its independence and sovereign status depend on whether or not Poland remains a (?strong) socialist state in the future. We are convinced, said Generak Kilosov in conclusion, that for true Polish patriots socialism and independence are inseparable concepts.

PAPERS COMMENT ON FIRST DAY OF CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS

LD150832 Warsaw PAP in English 0636 GMT 15 Jul 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 15 Jul (PAP)--If we regard the first day of the debates as representative of the whole 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress, we can assume that it will take place in an atmosphere of democracy and adherence to principles, TRYBUNA LUDU wrote today.

The course of making congress decisions was voted on democratically during its first, working and organizational part. The first statements by the delegates at the plenary session were sensible and down-to-earth, set in a well-known reality and free of excessive words.

Stanislaw Kania opened the session by appealing to the congress' historic responsibility for Poland's immediate and later future. This time, in 1981, these words do not contain even a wisp of metaphoric meaning. This is the truth alone--very severe and very pressing.

But it is this tone, competent and down-to earth, critical and responsible, that is this congress' chance and duty. For such is the programme the congress owes to the party and nation, TRYBUNA LUDU wound up.

The congress is extraordinary not only by name but also in the scale of the nation's hopes and expectations, wrote ZYCIE WARSZAWY today. "Authentic" and "natural" is how the daily's commentator Franciszek Nietz defined today's debates.

The first day was marked by diversity of opinion, biting speeches delivered by some delegates, by no means politically-courteous words often addressed to the presiding leadership, the commentator remarked.

"We receive the debates as a life-giving wind, as a true projection fo the moods and views of millions of Poles into Warsaw's Congress Hall," he wrote.

"This will be a congress full of sharp words but also clear decisions and historic definitions. The 9th congress does not lack passion and fierceness and this is a good sign for the future--a promise to make the programme presented earlier credible and the expectations with which the congress began precise," ZYCIE WARZAWY concluded.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY Report

LD150910 Warsaw PAP in English 0827 GMT 15 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 15 Jul (PAP)--"It would be a miracle if the congress settled all the problems that overburden us. It would be a tragedy where it not to settle anything. Between those two extremes, there comes the whole load of expectations that Poles pin on the 9th PUWP Congress," Andrzej Bajorek wrote in ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

"At the 9th congress the diversity, which has for the first time become so prominent in the PUWP, is to turn into unity of the party."

"One of the most important procedural decisions on the first day of the debates concerned the mode of electing the first secretary of the PUWP CC. Already before the congress three variants of elections of CC first secretary were agreed on. One, the secretary is elected by the congress, prior to electing a new CC. Two, the secretary is elected by the newly elected CC members. Three, the secretary is elected by the congress, after the election of a new CC, out of the candidates proposed to the congress by the new CC."

"At yesterday's voting at the congress, most of the delegates were for the third variant, and 53 fewer supported the first option. As the difference turned out very slight, and the voting took place while two congress commissions were debating (i.e. with some score delegates absent), the discussion on the final solution of this issue took a long time and the question will be discussed again."

Writing about the statements in yesterday's debates, the ZYCIE WARSZAWY correspondent said that "first of all a condemnation of extremisms sounded clearly in the statements of delegates, those on the right and those on the left, those in Solidarity and in the party."

"The first day of the congress brought the first answers to fundamental questions," wrote another ZYCIE WARSZAWY correspondent, Michal Ksiezarczyk. The fears felt before the congress proved unfounded. The demand for severe personnel sanctions is not dominating the congress. This gives rise to hopes for a matter-of-fact course of further congress discussion, for constructive conclusions," the paper said.

Interparty Cooperation

LD151028 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0630 GMT 15 Jul 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Under the slogan: Aware of the Responsibility, Kazimierz (Kozub) writes his thoughts in DZIENNIK LUDOWY. He drew attention to the fact that the leading motif of the report of the PZPR Central Committee was the statement that the most important issue today is to restore to everyday practice the full meaning of such basic socialist ideals as justice, respect for human and civic dignity, full respect for the law, the guarantee of equal living conditions and chances for development to all social groups. To achieve this goal, it is said from the platform of the ninth congress, we must not only carry out a workman-like analysis of the reasons for the previous errors and distortions but construct mechanisms which provide an effective barrier against such errors and distortions in the future. Kazimierz (Kozub) also stressed that already on the first day of the deliberations guarantees had been given that the party of the working class, not relinquishing the leading role in the life of the state and the nation, views cooperation as partners, with the ZSL and with the SD to be the basic condition for the functioning of socialist democracy in Poland and a condition for the success of the renewal.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON 12TH PLENUM ADDRESSES

Olszowski Speech

AU141439 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11-12 Jul 81 pp 1, 3

[Report on speech by Stefan Olszowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the 10 July session of the 12th PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw]

[Text] S. Olszowski reported on the accountability and programmatic documents prepared for the ninth party congress; the Central Committee report on the period between the eighth congress and the ninth special congress; the report of the PZPR Central Auditing Commission; the report of the Central Party Control Commission; the draft programmatic resolution of the ninth congress; draft changes to the PZPR statutes; and the draft congress resolution to mark the 100th anniversary of the Polish workers movement.

The following government documents are regarded as an integral part of the congress documents: the report on the state of the economy together with the statistics issued by the Central Statistical Office; the program for overcoming the crisis and for stabilizing the country's economy; and the draft lines of the economic reform supplemented by public discussion for over 18 months. The final two documents will be examined by the Sejm after the ninth congress has discussed them.

The Central Committee report covers 16 months, during which the party had to face many extremely complicated political, social and economic tasks, which it has to solve in a new manner, taking account of the strong pressure exerted by the developing situation of a profound crisis and defending the permanent achievements of building socialism. The party leadership produced by the sixth plenum elected to solve social conflicts by dialogue and accord. At its successive plenums the Central Committee reaffirmed such a way to solve conflicts and searched for greater effectiveness of its activities.

The differentiated nature of reasons for and the depth of the crisis make it necessary to formulate the final answers to such urgent questions as ensuring socialist renewal, strengthening the front of national accord, rapidly overcoming the economic crisis, paving the road to Poland's further economic development and maintaining our credibility toward our allies, as well as Europe and the world. If the party is to genuinely play its leading role, it must regain and increase its political power, consolidate internal party democracy and strengthen party discipline and ranks. Solicitude for the party's Marxist-Leninist image is of special significance.

Leading the people and playing its leading role in the state, the party goes to its congress with many theses concerning the state and socialist democracy. A strong state built on democracy and self-government is the best guarantee of the logical nature of its development.

The fraternal parties in the socialist countries, keenly interested in the process of socialist renewal in Poland, have expressed their approval for the adopted program of PZPR activities and are giving us extensive assistance. The CPSU Central Committee letter addressed to the PZPR Central Committee members was an important feature in the life of the party and the entire society. The anxiety expressed in that letter and the views demonstrated in it reverberated on an extensive scale during the precongress discussion. Our party took a principled communist stand on that letter and showed confidence in its content. It accepted it as an expression of concern for preserving the basic values of socialism in our country. At its ninth plenum the PZPR Central Committee ascertained the agreeement of the two parties in the evaluation of the current situation in Poland. Its resolution stressed its determination to pursue consistent activities in defense of socialism.

S. Olszowski pointed out that the course and contents of the accountability-election campaign before the ninth party congress prove that the party is making consistent efforts to implement the political declaration issued by it during all the Central Committee plenums since August 1980.

Barcikowski Speech

AU141257 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11-12 Jul 81 p 1

[Report on speech by Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the 10 July Warsaw session of the 12th PZPR Central Committee Plenum]

[Text] K. Barcikowski reported on the course of the accountability-election meetings and conferences and on the organizational preparations for the ninth congress. He recalled that election meetings had been held, following the sixth party plenum, with the agreement of the party bodies in those basic party organizations that wished to hold such meetings and conferences. Some 10 percent of party organizations took advantage of that right before the [illegible] party plenum which adopted the resolution on general party election and fixed the approximate date of the ninth congress. The 10th plenum decided that the congress should be held on 14 July. K. Barcikowski informed the Central Committee that in keeping with its decisions, the programmatic-election campaign had taken course within the appointed deadlines and that the ninth congress would begin on 14 July.

K. Barcikowski recalled that the programmatic-election campaign had begun during a heated party discussion about the reasons for the crisis, the responsibility for distortions of socialism and the ways to prevent such manifestations in the future. That discussion was marked by a critical tenor and for demands for justice. The draft changes in the PZPR statutes and the programmatic theses for the congress played an important part in that discussion.

The meetings and conferences, K. Barcikowski continued, were dominated by sociopolitical issues connected with the evaluation of the seventies and previous years and by efforts to promote an ideological and moral purge of the party of past errors. That was also a reason for the persistence of the party members' strong demands for bringing the guilty to justice. At the same time, however, never before was so much attention devoted to statutory issues and to the principles of the party's leading role. During that discussion and during the work to carry out changes in the statutes, efforts were made to look for the solution to ensure party members' and organizations' genuine influence on the party's policy and to guarantee the effectiveness of the activities of the party as a whole.

Describing other features of the discussion, K. Barcikowski said that it had not been marked to a great extent by the conviction of the participants that in order to extricate the economy from its crisis it is necessary for everyone to work and do things and to support by effort the entire society, and the party in particular.

Most participants in the discussion showed understanding for the CPSU letter to the PZPR and to the ninth plenum resolutions. Attempts to undermine the validity of that letter were few. The participants condemned the efforts to undermine our credibility in relations with the USSR and sharply reacted to the cases of profanation of the Soviet army graves and memorials.

K. Barcikowski then discussed the elections at party meetings and conferences. Except for a relatively few cases, the elections produced negative reactions to representatives of extreme policies. The changes in the leaderships of party organizations are deep, but no deeper than was in case in 1956-57. Some 50 percent of first secretaries of the basic party organizations and 38 percent of the first secretaries of the first-grade party bodies were replaced. Of the 49 voivodship committee first secretaries 25 were reelected. The changes in the composition of the secretariats and executive committees of the voivodship committees are even greater. The course of the elections, which was most democratic, was not free of casual decisions. The elections did not duly account for representatives of the scientific, cultural and artistic communities, which are not so numerous, but which are important for party activities. The elections resulted in a considerable rejuvenation of the party authorities and leaderships. The new party authorities, K. Barcikowsi stressed, had gained additional opportunities for effective activities because they were trusted by their party electorate.

Further K. Barcikowski discussed the results of the elections of congress delegates, 1,964 of whom had been elected at the enterprise and voivodship conferences. Some 55 percent of them hail from worker families, 32 percent from peasant families and 14 percent from intelligentsia families. Workers account for 22.3 percent and farmers for 9.9 percent of the congress delegates. Intelligentsia professionals account for the remaining percentage. Some 53 percent of the congress delegates are higher school graduates. Congress delegates in the 35-45 age group are in the decisive majority. Some 84 percent of the delegates have been party members for more than 10 years, 56 percent belong to the branch trade unions and 20.6 percent belong to Solidarity.

Grabski Report

AU150741 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11-12 Jul 81 p 3

[Speech by Tadeusz Grabski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, at the 10 July PZPR Central Committee plenum in Warsaw--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] PAP--THE COMMISSION SET UP AT THE 10TH CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM TO ASSESS THE COURSE TO DATE, AND TO ACCELERATE THE WORK CONCERNING RESPONSIBILITY, IS REPORTING TODAY TO THE COMRADES ON ITS 2-MONTH ACTIVITY AND PRESENTS A DRAFT DECISION CONTAINING FINAL PROPOSALS.

While discharging the duty imposed by the Central Committee to honestly assess the sources and causes of the mistakes committed in the past, and to establish definite responsibility for them by persons from the former party and state leadership, we were guided by the deep conviction that the party and authorities' recovery of public confidence and of the credibility of the intentions guiding them, was a condition for overcoming the results of the present crisis.

A FAIR JUDGEMENT OF THE EVENTS AND OF PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY WAS AND IS BEING GENERALLY EXPECTED NOT ONLY BY THE PARTY, BUT ALSO BY THE ENTIRE SOCIETY. BECAUSE AS LONG AS WE IN THE PARTY HAVE NOT COMPLETED SETTLING ACCOUNTS, WHICH DOMINATED THE ENTIRE PRECONGRESS CAMPAIGN, THE CONTEMPLATION OF THE PAST WILL OVERSHADOW OUR THOUGHTS ABOUT THE FUTURE AND ABOUT CONSTRUCTIVELY OVERCOMING THE EFFECTS OF THE CRISIS. There is too much bitterness and justified agitation in assessing the past decade of the seventies, when so many facts hurt the feelings of social justice.

The process of settling accounts with party members, particularly with those performing leading functions in the PZPR and state, was initiated by the decisions of the sixth and seventh Central Committee plenums. As a result of these decisions, some comrades from the former leadership lost their membership in the Central Committee and the functions of Sejm deputies, or--as in the case of the former first secretary--also membership in the State Council. At the same time, the Supreme Chamber of Control checked into the substance of accusations of breaking the law. Party control commissions checked into the attitudes taken by party members, into their conformity with the PZPR statutes and with the norms of party responsibility. As a result of that, in particular, the former premier and the former chairman of the Planning Commission under the Council of Ministers were expelled from the party.

Emotions are on the whole a bad adviser, but the expectations of an honest settling of accounts with persons who discredited our party were and are completely natural. For that reason the commission, in accomplishing its difficult tasks, was always guided by the feeling of highest responsibility for the results of its activity, by the need to be equal to the expectations and impatience, as well as by the deep feeling of objectiveness and justice.

Notwithstanding the natural, even if unfair, demands and pressures on the part of various forces and some segments of the public, THE COMMISSION, FOR THE SAKE OF JUSTICE AND LEGALITY, MUST NOT BREAK ITS PRINCIPLES, EVEN IN ONE SINGLE INSTANCE.

THE POINT WAS TO PUT AN END TO THE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT PROCESS OF SQUARING ACCOUNTS, TO FREE HONEST CADRES FROM UNFAIR SUSPICIONS, FROM THE PSYCHOSIS OF CONTINUOUS WITCH HUNTING, AND TO RESOLUTELY OPPOSE THE ACCUSATIONS AND ATTACKS AGAINST SELFLESS AND HONEST PERSONS COPING WELL WITH THEIR DUTIES.

Yielding to the moods of common lynching or to emotional demands would have nothing to do with the substance and character of the process of socialist renewal, with its ethical and ideological principles. Whoever was accused of having caused, by his or her activity, a crisis in Poland, or of having broken ethical or legal norms, should have been given the right to defense; and the decisions adopted in each case were based on evidence and not on gossip and allegations. For that reason it was impossible to complete the process of squaring accounts overnight, immediately after the sixth Central Committee plenum. But delays had to be avoided also. The commission is convinced that there was no delay. That process should have proceeded and did proceed in an atmosphere of respect for the law and for the principles of behavior in such cases, in a way which was strict but fair, and taking into account people's dignity. The real nature of that process could only have been thus, although we did not avoid--for example in the case of clearing proceedings conducted by the Supreme Chamber of Control--mistakes, accusations and accepting unsubstantiated slanders against honest people. The responsibility of specific persons for that state of affairs and for the incorrectness of presented data should be determined by party control commissions.

In accordance with the principles repeatedly voiced by the Central Committee and the party leadership, principles confirmed and deepened by the opinion of a team of legal experts, the commission adopted the following criteria to assess responsibility:

1. POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY IS TO BE BORNE FOR POLITICAL ACTIVITY;

2. PENAL RESPONSIBILITY IS TO BE BORNE FOR COMMON OFFENCES, REGARDLESS OF THE OFFENDER's POSITION;

3. PROVISIONS OF THE CRIMINAL LAW ARE TO BE APPLIED IN CASES WHERE LEADING STATE FUNCTIONAIRES HAVE BEEN FOUND GUILTY OF HAVING ADOPTED PARTICULARLY HARMFUL DECISIONS.

The commission greatly based its assessments and conclusions on the opinion of legal experts. In the experts' opinion, in the present state of the criminal law, only persons directly engaged in the state and economic apparatus can be indicted and impeached.

Thus, because of the absence of a legal basis and because of the lack of appropriate criminal law regulations, it was impossible to formulate conclusions concerning party functionaries and to transfer their cases from the sphere of political activity and its effects to the prosecution organs, unless someone would try to mislead public opinion to win its cheap applause or to be stricter than the law itself. However, what mattered was not cheap popularity, but legality.

I should also explain that, in the experts' opinion fully shared by the commission, under the present law, state and economic functionaires are only punishable if they have been found guilty of offenses in the sphere of exceeding their authority or of desisting from activities. Of course, this is not of proper proportion to the magnitude of the social and economic effects of their mistaken decisions, but, notwithstanding that disproportion, the very fact that the prosecutor's office took steps and, after having gathered evidence, indicated the former premier, and possibly will indict other former members of the government leadership, could set a precedence in our history. FOR THE FIRST TIME, STATESMEN MAY FACE TRIAL ACCUSED OF BAD STATE LEADERSHIP. That very fact, VIRTUALLY UNPRECEDENTED ANYWHERE IN PRESENT-DAY EUROPE, CALLS FOR GREAT CAUTION AND REFLECTION. THIS WILL BE HIGHLY IMPORTANT IN POLITICS AND WILL HAVE A GREAT BEARING ON THE FUTURE SYSTEM OF DECISIONMAKING BY THE GOVERNMENT.

As a result of the completed process of squaring accounts, OBJECTIVE BARRIERS SHOULD PRIMARILY ARISE, MAKING IT IMPOSSIBLE OR MORE DIFFICULT IN FUTURE TO MAKE MOVES DISREGARDING THE NATION'S LIVING CONDITIONS, AS WELL AS THE REAL NEEDS AND POSSIBILITIES OF SOCIETY, THE ECONOMY AND THE STATE.

The principle of equal responsibility for breaking the law and for common offenses, equal for everyone irrespective of position, does not require additional motives. But if it is applied in specific cases, it breaks the tacit privilege enjoyed by representatives of the authorities to disregard this principle.

AS FAR AS RESPONSIBILITY FOR POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS CONCERNED, I WOULD LIKE TO STATE THAT THE COMMISSION'S CONCLUSIONS WITH REGARD TO THE FORMER FIRST SECRETARY AND OTHER FORMER POLITBURO MEMBERS AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARIES ARE ALSO UNPRECEDENTED. The fact is that no one has ever applied such a sanction as checking into the possibility of their continued belonging to the PZPR, of depriving them of the honors of possessing state awards obtained in the past 10 years, and of depriving them of their unjustified immunity inconsistent with the sense of justice and protecting them from penal responsibility for breaking the law.

THUS THE COMMISSION'S CONCLUSIONS CONSTITUTE A HISTORICAL PRECEDENT AND ARE AN EARNEST WARNING FOR THE FUTURE. THEY ARE A FORM OF SEVERE CONDEMNATION OF MISTAKES AND INCOMPETENCE. Each of those people, as an individual must on his part experience that process of political degradation in the way experienced by every leader publicly stripped of his rank, decorations, fame and honors. The point is not to defame or to humiliate him, but to assess him fairly and punish him. Those persons will have to continue their lives with the burden of responsibility for the mistakes committed, and that is exactly the way their names will be recorded in history.

Legal experts have also called attention to the fact that, in some non-European countries, new teams that came to power there issued retroactive decrees on the basis of which they tried members of the overthrown authorities. In its essence, such a practice contradicts the legal tradition of European culture where the law, in principle, has never had a retroactive effect. We have accepted that position, proceeding from the point of view that our legal culture, customs and norms of civilization have deep roots precisely in those humane European traditions. The commission regarded a different point of view as unacceptable.

The commission set up by the 10th Central Committee plenum started its activity from scratch. In addition to the well known decisions of the sixth and seventh plenums, INTENSIVE WORK WAS PERFORMED BY PARTY CONTROL COMMISSIONS. In the period between the eighth and ninth congresses, they investigated 16,094 cases in the sphere of squaring accounts with people guilty of the crisis, of breaking political, ethical and legal norms. Accusations have been confirmed with regard to 4,990 comrades. Thus, as a result of those activities, 11,104 comrades have been cleared of the accusations.

Thus far, 885 persons have been expelled from the PZPR, including 508 who held leading positions. That number included 15 aktivs at the central and voivodship level. At the motion of the Central Party Control Commission, 18 persons have been recalled from the Central Committee and the Central Party Control Commission, and 36 persons from their posts. The other comrades whose charges were confirmed have received other party punishments, or their cases have still not been completed with a sentence.

SINCE THE SIXTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM, THE SUPREME CHAMBER OF CONTROL HAS INVESTIGATED THE CASES OF 9,793 PERSONS, INCLUDING 4,030 IN LEADING POSTS AT VARIOUS LEVELS. INVESTIGATIONS HAVE BEEN COMPLETED WITH REGARD TO 7,149 PERSONS, INCLUDING 2,819 HOLDING LEADING POSITIONS. Among persons who have been found guilty there were 918 PZPR members, and their cases have been handed over to party control commissions. Their number included 105 persons performing party functions, and 117 persons performing state functions.

The cases of 531 persons have been referred to prosecution organs, and 427 persons have been recalled from their posts. Steps have also been taken to exact dues arising from bills understated by a total of Z140 million, and to impose administrative fines totaling Z504 million.

THE PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE CONCLUDED PREPARATORY PROCEEDINGS IN 146 CASES AFFECTING 285 PERSONS. Some 59 persons were charged and 85 persons, all of whom had occupied leading positions and eight of whom had held party functions, were detained temporarily.

As the above data shows, THE PROCESS OF ACCOUNT SQUARING HAS AFFECTED ALMOST 26,000 PERSONS, BUT ONLY 12,000 PERSONS COULD BE CHARGED. SOME 3,400 OF THE LATTER HAD LEADING FUNCTIONS IN THE ECONOMY, ADMINISTRATION OR POLITICS AT VARIOUS LEVELS. We can assume that the process of account squaring is nearing its end, although--as is obvious--it must continue by way of investigations and penal court proceedings.

HOWEVER, WE MUST IN NO CASE AGREE THAT ANY KIND OF AMNESTY COULD BE PROCLAIMED AS OF TODAY. WHOEVER TRANSGRESSES AGAINST THE LAW AND THE PRINCIPLES OF PARTY ETHICS NOW OR IN THE FUTURE, DEVIATES FROM THE PARTY'S IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL PRINCIPLES OR HARMS SOCIETY, THE STATE AND THE PARTY IN ANY SECTOR, MUST TAKE THE CONSEQUENCES. For that reason the party control commissions, the Supreme Chamber of Control and the prosecutor's office should take effective normal action without special powers to this end. What is important is that, in keeping with the party statues, all basic party organizations use their control and educational powers and appraise severely and resolutely the attitudes and activities of their members.

Only in such a way will the party be able to fully purge itself of all the people who should not be party members and to create the most important guarantee that there will no longer be among us people who are careerists, who see only their own selfish advantage and who are indifferent to society's needs, the party's ideology and to the workers class' interests.

That guarantee will also ensure that he who has no genuine qualifications will never occupy any leading positions.

The commission I have chaired on the motion of the Central Committee presented in its report CONCLUSIONS OF A DETAILED AND GENERAL CHARACTER FOR THE NINTH CONGRESS TO CONFIRM. This fact releases me from the duty of discussing them in detail, but I would like to draw the comrades' attention to some issues in that connection:

First, we must decide whether the reponsibility of the former party leadership's members, who were not government members at the same time, should be restricted to political responsibility--that is, to removing them from all their positions (this was already taken care of)--and to eventually removing them now from the party and depriving them of the state decorations awarded to them in the past decade.

I wish to remind you that every one of those people may be called to account for each violation of legal norms in the same way as any other citizen, no matter what his merits.

Second, we must decide whether the prosecutor's office will investigate the activities of the former premier in order eventually to prefer charges against him for overstepping his powers or for failing to take the necessary action to prevent any damage to society and to the state, although the relevant penal code regulations are--let us clearly state--are inadequate to deal with a problem of such magnitude.

On the other hand, the commission proposed that the former vice premiers and members of the Politbuto, whose responsibility is defined by the sixth and seventh plenum resolutions, should have their party membership examined by the Central Party Control Commission and should be deprived to state decorations.

Third, we appeal to the Central Committee to take a stand on the commission's proposals on institutional guarantees to be included in the PZPR statutes and the regulations on the functioning of the state. These guarantees are closely connected with the analysis of the reasons for the crises as formulated by the commission in the light of the available documents and various talks.

Those proposals concern the party itself, especially the action methods used by the party leaders. They also concern the need for the Sejm to concretely specify the responsibility and scope of the powers of government bodies.

Regardless of those proposals, it is necessary, I think, to examine other questions: above all THE SYSTEM BY WHICH THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE EXERTS CONTROL AND THE MANNER IN WHICH ITS EXECUTIVE BODIES--THE POLITBURO AND THE SECRETARIAT--FUNCTION, SO THAT ALL IRREGULARITIES, WHICH CAN BE SO FATAL, ARE NIPPED IN THE BUD. Although the commission's report contains some specific decisions, it seems necessary that the principle of consistent periodical control over the activity of the Politburo and the Secretariat be observed in political practice.

THAT IS BECAUSE THERE IS NO OTHER EFFECTIVE METHOD OF PROTECTING THE PARTY AGAINST FUTURE DEFORMATIONS, ERRORS AND THE DANGEROUS DISEASE OF OPPORTUNISM THAN CONSISTENT, PRINCIPLED AND UNCOMPROMIZING ACTIVITY: AND SUCH AN ACTIVITY CAN BE ENSURED ONLY BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE THAT DOES ITS JOB IN THE INTEREST AND AT THE BEHEST OF THE ENTIRE PARTY.

I propose that the 12th plenum resolution on the completion of the activities of the commission, which was appointed to evaluate the work, and its acceleration, concerning the personal responsibility of the PZPR members who held leading party and state functions in the seventies, be adopted.

WALESA SPEAKS AT GDANSK SOLIDARITY PRESS CONFERENCE

LD142046 Warsaw PAP in English 2015 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Jul (PAP)--July 14 was the 2nd day of the debates of the 2nd round of a general meeting of delegates of the Gdansk Solidarity chapter going on in Gdynia. The debaters discussed many union issues, fixed the number of members of the board of the Gdansk chapter and its presidium and the volume of their wages.

Replying to a number of journalists' questions at a brief news conference, newly elected chairman of the Gdansk Solidarity charpter Lech Walesa said: "As it has been up to now, I will see to it that Gdansk is the union's headquarters, that nobody uses the union for pursuing his personal interests, and that we remain a workers' union. I will not govern, I will only serve the union, striving to attain concord. The most important issue is to settle the postulates as soon as we systemize them. We are strong but only when we are together and when we understand each other. I wish we always did."

Lech Walesa also came out for the self-governance of enterprises. Replying to a question about his running for the post of chairman of the Solidarity's National Consultative Commission, he made his decision conditional on whether he would be able to perform the function of chairman of the Gdansk at the same time.

SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE IN RZESZOW REPORTED

LD141930 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] Toward this morning, after a debate lasting 4 days, the second stage of the first general assembly of delegates of NSZZ Solidarity, Tzeszow region, and also of some cells of that union from the Przemysl and Krosno regions, ended in Rzeszow.

Taking part in the deliberations were 369 delegates representing the almost 200,000 members of Solidarity of that region. The conference elected the officials of the main board. Antoni Kopaczewski was elected chairman. A 60-person main board of the region, 9-person audit commission and 20 delegates to the national congress of Solidarity were also elected. Four problem commissions were also chosen. It was decided that the third round of the conference, devoted to program matters, would take place at the end of August this year.

SOLIDARITY OF PRIVATE FARMERS THANKS EPISCOPATE

LD140045 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] The Polish Episcopate's press office reports that yesterday at the Episcopate's secretariat office in Warsaw representatives of the organizations and union links of the NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers movement, aiming at achieving ideological and organizational unity of action and having listened to Episcopate representatives, decided to express their gratitude to the Episcopate's representatives for the advice flowing from the spirit of Christian love and the testament of the deceased primate Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski. [sentence as heard] They also decided to undertake agreed upon activities aimed at removing misunderstandings and ensuring the proper functioning and correct structure of the NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers.

NEW LOT AIRLINE CHIEF COMMENTS ON COMPANY'S TASKS

LD118100 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 11 Jul 81

[Text] Major Gen Jozef Kowalski, the new director of the Polish Airlines Lot, said in a statement to PAP that the consolidation of the enterprise team is the most important matter for him.

I want us all to understand each other well, he stated. This will permit a joint definition of the way in which the enterprise will develop further. The second important sphere on which [word indistinct] Director Kowalski wishes to concentrate is an improvement of the social and living conditions of the team. I will also aim, he said, at further raising the standing of the enterprise. It depends on the punctuality of flight arrivals and departures, on proper service for passengers, and on ensuring the high technical condition of the aircraft. Director Kowalski stated further, I consider that the enterprise will develop properly only when it comes to have the greatest possible independence though obviously within the framework of the obligatory legal order. One expression (?of this) will be, among other things, the nature of our financial accounting with the state. This must be completely sensible. Also indispensible is a highdegrees of self-government in the team, and it ought to be based on jointly working out decisions by representatives of the team and by the management. However, decisions and ensuring the preconditions for their implementation will be the duty of the administrative management. Director Kowalski also added that he is ready to listen to all opinions, even the most disagreeable.

INDUSTRIAL TRADE UNIONS HOLD PRECONGRESS MEETING

LD111716 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 11 Jul 81

[Excerpt] [Dateline not received] In Warsaw a meeting of a group of members of Industrial Branch Trade Unions who are delegates to the PZPR congress has been held. Albin Szyszka, the chairman of the conciliation commission of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions, spoke about the achievements of the renascent movement of Industrial Branch Trade Unions and the main directions of their activity. He said in particular that approximately 1,200 delegates to the congress are members of Industrial Branch Trade Unions. Touching on the situation in the trade union movement, he noted that despite the often ill-disposed attitude on the part of some officials of Solidarity, the Industrial Branch Trade Union movement is properly evaluating the obvious opportunities for cooperation between trade unions, as well as the role of Solidarity, particularly its workers movement in the elimination of distortions in socialism and the reestablishment of the corresponding importance of trade unions. We would not be what we are if Solidarity had not been formed. The peculiar competition with that trade union only gives us more strength. It is essential, however, that the "war among trade unions" be finished as soon as possible, so that we might sit down together and start talking.

PAP SCORES ACTIVITIES OF KPN DISSIDENTS

LD101920 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Flying in the Face of the Facts--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Jul (PAP)--In connection with the trial of the leaders of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI writes:

The program and all the main documents contained in the illegally produced and distributed publications of the group of organizers and leaders of the Confederation for an Independent Poland who are currently standing trial, proclaim one of the main tasks to be the severance of the allied unity of the Polish People's Republic and the USSR.

The confederation's ideologists primarily dispute the very fact of the real existence of People's Poland, and call for the creation of a "Third Rzeczpospolita [republic].

The complete rejection of the idea of Polish-Soviet friendship and alliance is also reflected in the last of the, naturally illegally, published official documents of the KPN, the "Election Platform" released by KPN organizers in February last year in connection with the Sejm elections.

In the successive sections of the "platform" KPN leaders express doubts about the Polish People's Republic's participation in the Warsaw Pact organization and the CEMA, organizations whose assistance to Poland during the present crisis is so valuable.

As for the tasks of Polish foreign policy the KPN does its utmost in the platform to promote the establishment and maintenance of friendly relations with "great powers such as the United States and the PRC and with states belonging to other groupings, in particular NATO members."

"The foreign policy of Poland", the KPN platform proclaims, "must strive for universal recognition of the right of Germans to reunification and to life in a single country." It is easy to guess that the FRG is, naturally, held to be this country.

Even the Western radio station, the BBC, is in no doubt as to the aims of the KPN. But doubt of this kind does arise in Poland in the case of certain defenders of those allegedly persecuted for their views and beliefs.

TRYBUNA LUDU PUBLISHES GOVERNMENT REPORT ON ECONOMY

LD132050 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 13 Jul 81

[Text] TRYBUNA LUDU has published three brochures which contain the text of the government report on the state of the economy, on the program to overcome the crisis and to stabilize the economy of the country, and also drafts of the directions of economic reform and of laws on state enterprises and on the self-government of the workforce in state enterprises.

The report on the state of the economy describes the manifestations of the present crisis. It gives a government diagnosis of the situation and lists the causes for the emergence of the crisis, dividing them into causes arising out of economic policy and out of the mismanagement of the economy. The second part of the report constitutes an extensive description of the state of the main aspects of economic activity. The text is supplemented with statistical tables.

The government program to overcome the crisis and stabilize the economy of the country sets out the main directions of work including a halt to the fall in production, market stabilization, budget savings, redefining investments, labor reallocation, restoring the balance of payments and enhancing exports. In the section dealing with the prospects for extricating the country out of the crisis, the authors state, among other things, that the achievement of the precrisis level of national income will be possible depending on certain external and internal conditions, in the next 5-6 years.

The last brochure contains three fundamental documents connected with economic reform, namely, the draft of the commission for economic reform which concerns general directions of the reform, and draft laws, submitted by the government before the Sejm this June on state enterprises and on the self-government of the workforce.

All the delegates to the 9th extraordinary party congress have also received these materials.

BRIEFS

RECALL OF UNDERSECRETARY--The chairman of the Council of Ministers has recalled Romuald Kozakiewicz from the post of undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Construction and Construction Materials Industry. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 14 Jul 81 LD]

RADIO REPORTS ON PZPR CONGRESS, RCP DELEGATION

AU141913 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] The proceedings of the Extraordinary Ninth PZPR Congress opened today at the Warsaw Palace of Science and Culture. The proceedings of this forum of Polish communists are being attended by 1,964 delegates as well as guests, veterans of the Polish workers movement and representatives of public and mass organizations.

Delegations of communist and workers parties from socialist countries were also present in the hall. The RCP delegation is led by Comrade Iosif Banc, member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the party Central Committee. The delegation also consists of Paraschiv Benescu, member of the party Central Committee and first secretary of the Galati County party committee, and Ion Cosma, member of the party Central Committee and Romania's ambassador to Warsaw.

The opening speech was delivered by Stanislav Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. The congress elected its working bodies and adopted the agenda, which includes: presentation of the party Central Committee report on party activity since the eighth congress and discussions on this document, and election of the leadership bodies of the party. The congress will also adopt a number of program decisions and a decision on marking the 100th anniversary of the workers movement in Poland.

The party Central Committee report was presented to the congress by Stanislav Kania. The congress proceedings are continuing.

PRESS NOTES ANNIVERSARY OF TREATY WITH USSR

AU091402 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Jul 81 p 4

[Unattributed commentary: "The 11th Anniversary of the New Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Between Romania and the Soviet Union"]

[Text] The Romanian and Soviet peoples today celebrate a very important event in continuously developing their traditional relations of friendship: the signing, 11 years ago in Bucharest, of the new treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between Romania and the Soviet Union. Developing and enriching the provisions of the first treaty, signed in 1948, the new document represented and continues to represent a most fruitful framework to continue to expand cooperation between the two countries and peoples, in accordance with the higher stage of bilateral relations and the new conditions of overall international life.

Being deeply rooted in the historical past of struggle of the two peoples, the Romanian-Soviet ties of friendship have acquired an ever richer content in the years of socialism, since they were powerfully motivated by the common system, ideology and goals of building socialism and communism. It is well known that, within the framework of our policy of developing friendship and comprehensive cooperation with all socialist countries, primarily with the neighboring ones, the Romanian party and people highly assess relations with the Soviet Union. To our mutual satisfaction, the Romanian-Soviet relations of friendly cooperation are continuously expanding and diversifying in all spheres of activity. In the ever upward evolution of those relations, a role of decisive significance devolves on ties of comradely solidarity between the RCP and CPSU and on meetings and talks between Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and L.I. Brezhnev, which have opened up new horizons for expanding our mutually advantageous cooperation.

This fruitful course is clearly illustrated in the dynamism of our economic relations, the Soviet Union being our country's main foreign economic partner.

Concurrently with the ceaseless development of trade exchanges, an ever greater share of this cooperation is being taken up by new and better forms of production sharing and specialization in most important fields for the economic development of the two countries. At the same time, we continue to expand cooperation in science, technology, arts and culture as well as the exchange of experiences in most diverse fields of building socialism and communism.

This fruitful evolution is supplemented by cooperation between Romania and the USSR at the international level, with a view to resuming and continuing the process of detente in Europe and throughout the world and promoting the overall goals of peace and understanding among all peoples.

Today's anniversary is a new opportunity for the Romanian people to reiterate the sentiments of warm friendship toward the peoples of the Soviet Union and to again express the conviction that the continuous development of relations of fraternal cooperation between the two parites, countries and peoples is in full accord with mutual interests and makes a most important contribution to the great cause of socialism, peace and progress throughout the world.

MONGOLIA CHAIRMAN TSEDENBAL RECEIVES RCP DELEGATION

AU141155 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 10 Jul 81 p 6

[Text] Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, received the Romanian party and government delegation led by Comrade Petre Lupu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and chairman of the party Central Collegium, which is participating in the festivities organized in Ulaanbaatar on the 60th anniversary of the Mongolian People's Revolution.

The Romanian delegation extended, on behalf of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, cordial greetings and warmest congratulations on that glorious anniversary, as well as wishes for new successes to the friendly Mongolian people in building socialism and in implementing the 18th MPRP Congress decisions.

Expressing thanks Comrade Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal asked the guests to convey cordial greetings and best wishes to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and the Romanian party-state leadership, together with best wishes for new successes to the Romanian people in the fatherland's socialist construction.

During the talks, the two sides stressed the positive relations between the RCP and the MPRP, between Romania and the Mongolian People's Republic and expressed the determination to act toward the multifaceted development of those relations in the future to the benefit of the two peoples and the cause of socialism and peace. They also discussed certain aspects of international issues.

On this occasion, Comrade Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal handed the Romanian delegation members the jubilee medal: "The 60th Anniversary of the Victory of the Mongolian People's Revolution."

Ceausescu Congratulation

AU062112 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Jul 81 p 7

[Nicolae Ceau escu's congratulatory message to Mongolia's Tsedenbal on his reelection]

[Text] To Comrade Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP], chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR].

On behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania and myself, I want to convey to you warm congratulations on your reelection to the high position of chairman of the Presidium of the MPR Great People's Hural.

I want to take this opportunity to once again express my conviction that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties and countries will further develop and deepen for the benefit of the Romanian and Mongolian peoples and in the interests of the general cause of socialism and peace, national independence and international progress.

Esteemed Comrade Isedenbal, I want to wish you good health and new successes in your work devoted to implementing the decisions of the 18th MPRP Congress and to further developing friendly Socialist Mongolia.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

More on Congratulations

AU131055 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 11 Jul 81 p 5

[Message sent by President Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Ilie Verdet to Mongolian leaders on 60th anniversary of Mongolian revolution]

[Text] To Comrade Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP], chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR]

To Comrade Jambyn Batmonh, chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers

Dear comrades, on behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, of the Romanian people and ourselves, we want to convey to you, to the MPRP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Great Hural, the MPR Council of Ministers and the friendly Mongolian people cordial congratulations and best wishes on their jubilee--the 60th anniversary of the victory of the Mongolian people's revolution.

The victory of the revolution and the establishment of people's power were events of great importance in the history of the Mongolian people's struggle against exploitation and oppression, for freedom and social progress. In 60 years of free life the Mongolian working people, led by the MPRP, have wrought deep changes in all socioeconomic areas; they eliminated the feudal backwardness inherited from the past and began building socialist system. The working people in our country follow with great interest and sincerely rejoice in the noteworthy achievements attained bythe fraternal Mongolian people in building the technical-material basis of socialism, in developing industry, agriculture, science and culture, and in continuously raising the working people's material and cultural well-being.

We note with satisfaction that relations of friendship and cooperation have been established and are developing between Romania and Mongolia, between our parties and peoples, relations which have been following an ascending course in economic, political, cultural, scientific and other areas. We want to express our conviction that these friendly relations and our mutual cooperation in many sectors will further develop, for the benefit of the Romanian and Mongolian peoples, in the interests of the new social system in our countries and of the general cause of socialism, national independence, peace and cooperation among nations.

On your great national anniversary, we want to convey to you, dear comrades, to the communists and all Mongolian working people wishes for new and great successes building socialism, in implementing the 18th MPRP Congress decisions and in continuously developing our country.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Ilie Verdet, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania

OFFICIALS ATTEND FRENCH EMBASSY RECEPTION

AU141952 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] Bucharest, 14 Jul (AGERPRES)--On the national day of the French Republic, that country's ambassador in Bucharest, Marcel Beaux, gave a reception on July 14.

Attending were Gheorghe Radulescu, vice president of the State Council; Ion Dinca, first deputy prime minister; Cornelia Filipas, deputy prime minister; Nicola Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly; Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs, other Romanian officials.

CEAUSESCU CHAIRS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

AU141438 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, chaired a meeting of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee at Neptun Resort today. The Political Executive Committee examined the progress of grain harvesting. Proceeding from the fact that in certain counties this essential agricultural activity is lagging behind, the Political Executive Committee recommended that all efforts should be focused on harvesting crops all over the country without any losses. At the same time it is necessary to act to complete secondary crop sowing within a week's time. The fulfillment of this task requires a general rallying of the technical equipment and labor force in all agricultural state and cooperative units and of all working people in villages.

The Political Executive Committee also recommended that most energetic measures be taken to completely harvest fodders. In those counties where there are large pasture lands adequate assistance should be ensured for the timely harvesting and mowing of crops. Measures are also necessary to harvest straw from lands where wheat and barley have been harvested.

The Political Executive Committee set the task for the county party and state bodies and for all agricultural bodies to prepare measures in time to perform fall plowing and sowing under most favorable conditions by paying great attention to ensuring the appropriate density of plants so as to create preconditions for large crops next year.

The Political Executive Committee examined the application of the decisions of the RCP Central Committee, of the National Council of Working People and the recommendations made by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu regarding the general application this year of the reduced 46-hour work week and the measures that are necessary to apply the 44-hour work week in all sectors of activity from 1982 up to the end of the 5-year plan.

It was recommended that for this purpose the ministries, centrals and enterprises should firmly apply the program and set of measures worked out in all economic units. Only by increasing labor productivity, the item-specified production and the product quality, only by fulfilling the marketed commodity production and the export production and by increasing economic efficiency in all sectors of activity will we be able to ensure the implementation of the party program provisions and the 12th party congress decisions regarding reducing the duration of the work week--an expression of the party's and state's concern with creating improved living and work conditions for the working people in our country in keeping with the successes recorded in socialist construction.

In this respect the Political Executive Committee requested that all economic ministries, industrial centrals, working people's councils in enterprises and the party organizations in all economic units mobilize all working people to implement the plan tasks in all indexes in the most favorable conditions, to strengthen order and discipline in all sectors of activity and to continue to reduce production costs and energy, fuel and raw material consumption.

One must understand that to reduce the work week it is necessary to achieve the same production in a shorter time, to increase production norms and to additionally increase labor productivity. Each enterprise must discuss tangible ways and means of fulfilling this essential task to introduce the 46-hour work week.

The Political Executive Committee recommended that the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions, the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth, the National Council of Women, the Council for Socialist Culture and Education and the Central Commission for Mass Tourism pay greater attention--in keeping with reducing the work week--to organizing people's free time and to an intensive cultural, sports and tourist activity with a rich instructive and educational content.

The meeting then examined the contribution made by the Romanian delegation that participated in the proceedings of the 35th ordinary CEMA meeting held in Sofia 2-4 July 1981. The Political Executive Committee assessed that our country's delegation, led by Comrade Ilie Verdet, prime minister of the Romanian Government, acted in the spirit of the mandate entrusted to it to intensify economic cooperation and production-sharing between the CEMA member countries on the basis of full equality of rights, mutual advantage and comradely assistance with a view to achieving a maximum increase in the economic efficiency of production and to optimally ensure the future requirements of fuel, energy, raw materials, modern equipment, foodstuffs and consumer goods for the economies of those countries in conformity with the provisions of the comprehensive program. The Political Executive Committee assesses positively the results of the meeting and the provisions adopted by it in connection with the major directions of economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

During the meeting it was stressed that a number of problems of cooperation among the member countries have not been resolved yet and that it is necessary to intensify efforts to resolve them in the interests of accelerating the socioeconomic progress in each of these countries.

Of special importance in this respect is the problem of ensuring raw materials and energy for the CEMA member countries, the development of specialization in production and production-sharing, cooperation in the field of science and technology and turning the next two 5-year plans into a period of intensive production-sharing and scientific-technical cooperation.

The Political Executive Committee stressed the need to intensify multifaceted economic cooperation between Romania and each one of the socialist CEMA member countries and cooperation with all the other socialist countries on the basis of mutual advantage and in the interest of the flourishing of each country.

Approving the activity carried out by the Romanian delegation at the recent CEMA meeting, the Political Executive Committee set the task for the Council of Ministers, the ministries and for the other central bodies to take all necessary measures to completely fulfill the decisions agreed upon during the 35th ordinary CEMA session.

The Political Executive Committee also resolved current questions of the party and state activity.

HUNGARIAN WORKERS COUNCIL SESSION CABLES CEAUSESCU

AU071107 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 Jul 81 p 5

[Report on telegram addressed to RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu by the 4 July plenary session of the Council of Working People of Hungarian Nationality]

[Text] Everything that has been said at our plenary session reflected the great reverberation of your speech at the second congress of working people in the consciousness of all the people, of the working people of Hungarian nationality. The unanimous manner in which the council members adopted the 5-year plan provisions illustrates the complete support of all citizens of Hungarian nationality for the options and decisions of our party and state.

The council members highly appreciated the party policy of rationally distributing the forces of production throughout the country, of balanced development of all areas and localities, a policy which brought about increases in the national wealth and important successes in ensuring complete equality among all the fatherland's citizens, regardless of nationality.

We endorsed with great satisfaction the measures adopted to develop our socialist democracy, to expand the framework permitting the direct participation of all working people in mapping out general policies and in leading society. Within this broad system of socialist democracy each citizen, whatever his nationality, enjoys unlimited opportunities for self-fulfillment and for attaining his loftiest aspirations, in conditions of total equality.

We take this opportunity to express the support of the working people of Hungarian nationality for our party-state foreign policy. We hail with full approval the peace appeal addressed by the Congress of Working People to all peoples, and the appeal addressed to the parliaments of the signatory states of the Helsinki Final Act as political acts which once again highlight the consistency with which Romania militates for peace, security, understanding and cooperation with all nations.

The Council of Working People of Hungarian Nationality assures you, greatly esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that the working people of Hungarian nationality, shoulder to shoulder and in unity and fraternity with all the people, will industriously and devotedly work to optimally implement all the tasks established for them in the current 5-year plan, that they will be in the front ranks of the struggle for quality, productivity and efficiency, for rapidly promoting scientific and technical achievements, for ever better crops.

CEAUSESCU PAYS WORKING VISIT TO CONSTANTA COUNTY

AU150815 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0800 GMT 15 Jul 81

[Summary] President Nicolae Ceausescu this morning began a working visit to Constanta County. "On this visit, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu is accompanied by Comrade Elena Ceausescu and Comrades Emil Bobu, Nicolae Constantin, Gheorghe Oprea, Ion Patan, Petru Enache and Ion Stoian, first secretary of Constanta County party committee." The first unit visited were the Mangalia shipyards. At this time, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's tour of economic units in Constanta County continues.

AGERPRES REVIEWS PLANNED ENERGY DEVELOPMENT

AU141105 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0940 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] Bucharest, 14 Jul (AGERPRES)--Intense activity is on in Romania, for the turning to advantage of further reserves of oil, gas, coal, shales, thermal waters, other alternative resources, with a view to meeting the energy needs out of home resources, so that the country may turn energy self-sufficient by the end of this decade, hence, also the priority enjoyed by the extractive industry in the 1981-1985 quinquennium.

This compartment will benefit by investments funds by 48 billion lei bigger than in the past quinquennium. This basic orientation of the Romanian economic policy is in fact reflected by the provisions of the 1981-1985 development plan which gives special importance to the use of solid fuels, poor coals in particular, in the domain of primary energy. Within the total electric power generation, the share of coal-generated energy is expected to mount from 27.5 percent in 1980 to 47 percent in 1985. To this end the net production of lignite and brown coal will have to go up, according to the plan, from 27.1 million tons in 1980 to 73.6 million tons by 1985, at annual growth rates of 8-13.5 million tons. The rough mineral coal production will grow 55 percent. In the coming years, the turning to use will start of the bituminous shales of Anina, which will feed a thermo-electric power station now under construction. From one million tons in 1982, the production is to jump to ten million tons by 1985.

The planned crude extraction--12.5 million tons in 1985, as to 11.5 million tons in 1980, was established by taking into account the intensification of the drilling and the important rise in the recovery factor of the crude with most of the deposits. At the same time, by 80 percent more production and injection wells than in the past quinquennium are to be drilled in the current one.

With a view to attaining the planned levels with the coal, oil, gas and ores production, complex programmes have been worked out for the expansion of the reserve tapping, the development of the existing production capacities and the creation of new ones, the ensuring of the necessary equipment and technologies for preparation and production, the ensuring of the manpower and necessary sociocultural facilities, etc.

BRIEFS

CP DELEGATION--Haralambos Drakopoulos, secretary general of the Greek Communist Party (Interior) received Nicolae Dragos, first deputy editor-in-chief of SCINTEIA [date not given] who is in Greece for an exchange of experience at the AVGI newspaper. The two sides emphasized the good rel ions between the two parties and their contribution to promoting a climate of peace nd cooperation in the Balkans and throughout the world. [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 10 Jul 81 p 6 AU]

HUNGARIAN AIRLINE OFFICE--The Hungarian airline Malev has opened an office in Bucharest as of Friday 10 July, in line with the provisions of the aviation agreement between the two countries. The opening was attended by Hungarian Ambassador Sandoe Rajnai. [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 11 Jul 81 p 5 AU]

MONGOLIAN EMBASSY RECEPTION--Bucharest, 10 Jul (AGERPRES)--On July 10, marking the 60th anniversary of the victorious Mongolian people's revolution, Bamdariyn Dughersuren, ambassador of that country in Bucharest, gave a reception. Participating were Gheorghe Oprea, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister, Virgil Cazacu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, other Romanian officials. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1803 GMT 10 Jul 81 AU]

MORE ON SHOOTING AT SFRY EMBASSY IN BRUSSELS

LD141630 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1310 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Excerpts] Brussels--Around 1000 today a dastardly terrorist attack was carried out on the Yugoslav Embassy in Belgium during which embassy counsellor Blagoja Anakioski and embassy official Franc Spindler received serious injuries. They were immediately taken to the Brussels clinic and according to what the doctors announced about midday today, their life is not in danger. The terrorist entered the embassy building with a group of tourists who had come to complete visa formalities and was thus able to enter the building's central ground floor hall. He suddenly pulled out a gun and shot two members of our embassy who were dealing with the tourists.

Judging by all appearances this was an organized and prepared terrorist attack carried out by members of a group of extreme anti-Yugoslav Albanian irredentist emigrees.

Belgian authorities were warned by Yugoslavia on innumerable occasions about the concrete aspects of terrorist activity. They were also warned that impermissible tolerance toward anti-Yugoslav activity on Belgian soil would inevitably mean encouragement of the terrorists and would lead to bloody crimes like the one which unfortunately happened today.

This tolerant attitude of the Belgian authorities is absolutely impermissible and runs counter to the basic norms of international obligations which Belgium has accepted, both in the prevention of terrorism and via the documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe of which it is a signatory party.

With this sort of conduct, Belgium has in advance taken the responsibility for today's terrorist attack on the SFRY Embassy and for the threat to the life of Yugoslav representatives in Brussels which cannot fail but have an adverse effect also on bilateral relations. All this cannot diminish the fact that recently political terrorism and terrorism of all other complexions on Belgian soil in general has been significantly on the increase.

Sundic Comments

LD141628 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] The terrorist attack on the Yugoslav Embassy building in Brussels, during which two of our country's diplomats were injured, is a logical consequence of the tolerant attitude of the Belgian authorities of anti-Yugoslav fascist emigres over recent months. It is truly incomprehensible that a country maintaining good and friendly relations with Yugoslavia should allow acts of violence against Yugoslavia and its citizens to be tolerated almost unhindered on its territory, and this at a time when many governments of Western countries are waging an energetic struggle against terrorism.

The Yugoslav public has pointed out before, though diplomatic steps on the part of our government have unfortunately been missing, that the tolerant attitude of the Belgian authorities toward anti-Yugoslav terrorism does not accord with the good relations between the two countries, and that such conduct may have serious consequences for relations between Yugoslavia and Belgium. It is particularly regrettable that the Belgian Government has done nothing to stamp out anti-Yugoslav terrorism, and what is more, has by its conduct encouraged it even more.

The attack on the Yugoslav Embassy in Brussels and the injuring of two diplomats fully supports such a conclusion on our part, which leads us to the notion that the Belgian authorities really do not wish to tackle this problem in a serious manner, a problem which already burdens Yugoslav-Belgian relations beyond all measure.

Yugoslavia finds it impossible to comprehend what interest the Belgian Government can have in protecting a handful of terrorists on its territory and what lies behind such action. Is it really all the same to Belgium what sort of relations it enjoys with Yugoslavia, a land which is held in great esteem in the world, and which is very active in efforts to maintain a lasting and stable peace? Has Belgium not perhaps taken on the obligation to serve some questionable interests shunned by much larger and more influential countries? We have recently witnessed energetic actions on the part of the American authorities to wipe out anti-Yugoslav terrorism. These efforts will undoubtedly help to further promote friendly relations between the United States of America and Yugoslavia, on the basis of equality, noninterference in internal affairs and strict respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The fact that the Belgian authorities, state or police authorities--it is all the same--, take anti-Yugoslav terrorists under their protection is certainly no evidence of the democracy of a society. However it is enslavement to others' interests at the cost of relations with independent and nonaligned Yugoslavia. A democracy which threatens the interests of other countries, and which facilitates banditry in behavior directed against Yugoslav citizens, is unacceptable to everyone who truly cares for democracy and human liberties. On the contrary, a democracy conceived of in such a way is in effect participating in crimes against the liberties and democracy of other countries and peoples.

We are unsure whether one should hope that the Belgian Government will finally understand where yielding to anti-Yugoslav excesses will lead to, but we nevertheless consider that it is still not too late for this to be understood. This is required not only by interests directly concerning Yugoslav-Belgian relations, but also by interests of peace and security in Europe. Finally, the Belgian Government is obliged to ensure the peaceful life of Yugoslav citizens, and their security, for this is made incumbent upon it by the generally accepted norms of international conduct. Yugoslavia has every right to demand of the Belgian Government that it should once and for all put a stop to anti-Yugoslav terrorism if it is at all concerned for good and friendly relations with Yugoslavia.

MOSCOW, BLOC REPORTING ON PZPR CONGRESS CITED

AU142050 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] The first report published this afternoon in Moscow on the beginning of the extraordinary congress of the Polish party--exceptional interest in this congress has reigned in the Soviet capital from the moment it was announced--contains no direct and clear political assessments. However, the manner in which the concise report mentions Stanislaw Kania's speech has been interpreted to mean that the Soviet reporter wants to dissociate himself from the content of the speech. TASS puts the title of the speech in quotation marks, which has not been usual in reports on such events.

Judging by the reports in Bulgarian public information media, Sofia follows the PZPR Extraordinary Congress with great attention and pays special attention to its outcome--as is stressed--for the fate of socialism in Poland. Their reports stress the influence on Western propaganda, which allegedly led to a polarization of forces in the Polish party and society. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, organ of the Bulgarian party, asserts that the Polish society is now exposed to a strong ideological diversion on a large scale, inflicting heavy defeats on Poland.

The PZPR Congress is at the center of attention of Czechoslovak official circles and the public. Information media have carried extensive excerpts from the draft documents to be submitted to the congress. Quoting a Polish weekly, RUDE PRAVO says that the struggle for actual party unity at the congress will in fact be a battle for the party's class and Leninist character. It adds that it is precisely on this platform that the fate of the Polish process of socialist reconstruction will be decided.

VRHOVEC HOLDS TALKS WITH FRG'S GENSCHER 14 JUL

LD142043 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1618 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] Munich, 14 Jul (TANJUG)--Yugoslavia and the Federal Republic of Germany are vitally interested in the overcoming of the present deep and grave crisis in international relations by way of strengthening trust and reaching peaceful solutions to the existing crises.

The above was underlined in today's talks between Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Josip Vrhovec and Federal Republic of Germany Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, held in Stavberg, near Munich.

Josip Vrhovec yesterday evening arrived on a brief working visit to the Federal Republic of Germany. His dialogue with Minister Genscher is a part of the traditional contacts between the two countries' representatives. A particular impulse to these contacts was imparted by the meeting between Yugoslav Premier Veselin Djuranovic and Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt early this year.

Today's exchange of views was devoted to the situation in Europe, East-West relations, crisis spots in the world and Yugoslavia-Federal Republic bilateral relations.

Vrhovec and Genscher particularly dwelt on the situation in Europe and the problem of the arms race. The two countries' interest in a successful outcome of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) Madrid follow-up was expressed and the two ministers agreed on the need for convening a European disarmament conference.

In this context, views were exchanged on the problems of nuclear disarmament in Europe, and the two sides' interest was stressed in a dialogue on the subject opening as soon as possible. Some of the existing crisis situations, including the southern Africa, Southeast and southwest Asia, and possibilities for their political solution were also discussed.

Vrhovec particularly stressed that East-West relations must not push into the background other problems which also require urgent solutions.

Bilateral cooperation between Yugoslavia and the Federal Republic of Germany was assessed as positive and the need for its further promotion was noted.

Press Conference Held

LD142054 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1750 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] Munich, 14 Jul (TANJUG)--"The Federal Republic of Germany esteems Yugoslavia and its non-aligned policy. In the Non-aligned Movement, Yugoslavia is a major factor of the movement's true non-alignment and independence from the blocs", Federal Republic of Germany Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said at a press statement today after the closing talks with visiting Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Josip Vrhovec.

Genscher said that both the Federal Republic of Germany and Yugoslavia expect a successful outcome of the Madrid CSCE follow-up, which is also to result in accord on a European conference on disarmament.

Josip Vrhovec, who also answered questions at the press conference, said that useful political consultations were carried out during the talks with Genscher. Vrhovec said that a high level of mutual understanding and the closeness of the two countries' views on some major world problems were noted during the dialogue. "A high degree of acknowledgement was in evidence on issues on which we differ", Vrhovec said.

Vrhovec noted that bilateral questions were also discussed during the talks and said that a continual dialogue is necessary in order further to improve the very friendly relations between the two countries.

Vrhovec cited the question of Yugoslav workers in the Federal Republic of Germany, the balancing of the economic exchange and the common combatting of terrorism as questions requiring further attention.

Josip Vrhovec ended his visit to the Federal Republic of Germany and left for Yugoslavia this afternoon.

Vrhovec Returns

LD142054 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1801 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Jul (TANJUG)--Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Josip Vrhovec returned here today from an official visit to the Federal Republic of Germany.

During the visit, Vrhovec conferred with Federal Republic Foreign Minister Genscher. Vrhovec and Genscher exchanged views on the international situation and East-West relations. In this context, they stated the hope that the Madrid CSCE followup will have a successful outcome and they supported the initiative for convening a European disarmament conference. Vrhovec and Genscher stated satisfaction with the development of Yugoslavia-Federal Republic relations and noted the need for the promotion of bilateral cooperation.

MOJSOV CONGRATULATES CCP'S HU YAOBANG ON ELECTION

AU071331 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jul 81 p 7

[Text] Belgrade--Lazar Mojsov, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, has sent a telegram, on behalf of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and on his own behalf, to Hu Yaobang most cordially congratulating him on his election as chairman of the CCP Central Committee and expressing best wishes for successes in his new responsible position.

The telegram also notes with satisfaction the successful development of relations and cooperation between the LCY and the CCP and between the two countries and expresses readiness for further advancing and enriching the relations and cooperation.

SOVIET GENERAL YEPISHEV DEPARTS AFTER VISIT 10 JUL

AU141440 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jul 81 p 6

[Text] Belgrade--Army General Aleksey Yepishev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, who, at the head of his country's military delegation paid an official and friendly visit to our country and armed forces, departed from Yugoslavia yesterday.

At Batajnica Airport the guest from the friendly country was seen off by Col Gen Dane Petkovski, assistant federal secretary for national defense; Lt Col Gen Predrag Djuric, chief of the Political Administration of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense; Lt Col Gen Fabijan Trgo and Lt Col Gen Mitar Lojovic; Maj Gen Marko Kalodjera and other officers of the Yugoslav People's Army.

Nikolay Rodionov, USSR ambassador to Yugoslavia, and Col Arkadiy Zhuk, military, naval and air force attache, attended the sendoff for General Yepishev.

MAN SENTENCED TO PRISON TERM FOR 'ENEMY PROPAGANDA'

LD141818 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1211 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] Titograd--Arif Salja, an employee of the medical center in Kotor (aged 55) from the village of Ozrim near Pec has been sentenced to 3 and 1/2 years imprisonment because he has committed the criminal offenses of enemy propaganda and the violation of the reputation of the SFRY. Arif Salja was pronounced guilty of having committed these criminal offenses by the district court in Titograd where his trial took place on 7 July. The defendant is being held in custody until the sentence becomes fully valid.

KOSOVO ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE REPORTED BELOW PLAN

LD142028 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1635 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] Pristina, 14 Jul (TANJUG)--The economy of the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo in the first months of this year recorded results notably below the plan, President of the Kosovo Provincial Executive Council (provincial government) Bahri Oruci stated today at a joint session of all chambers of the Kosovo Provincial Assembly.

According to the still incomplete figures, in the first six months of this year, industrial production in Kosovo increased by 4.4 percent in relations to the same period last year under the plan, an increase of 5.5 percent was to be recorded. Kosovo's overall exports recorded a 4 percent drop and the retail prices, a high increase, just as in the rest of the country. Retail prices in Kosovo increased by 53 percent. Although personal earnings increased by 45 percent, real personal earnings dropped by from 5 to 6 percent. The Kosovo agriculture recorded somewhat more favorable results than last year. The recorded results, nevertheless, lag behind the actual possibilities. Oruci said that there have been of late indications of an intensified industrial production growth. However, the more favorable trend in industrial production is not marked enough to insure the overcoming of the unfavorable situation.

At the joint session of the Kosovo Provincial Assembly chambers, it was set out that the causes of the unfavorable economic situation in Kosovo lie in the inconsistent implementation of the economic stabilization policy last year inaugurated Yugoslavia wide, including in Kosovo. It was stressed that the responsibility of all subjects for a better utilization of capacities and more frugal economic activity must be stiffened.

KOSOVO ASSEMBLY PROPOSES AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION

LD142038 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1600 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] Pristina, 14 Jul (TANJUG)--The Assembly of the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo today adopted and promulgated a number of amendments to the provincial constitution, and passed a constitutional law for their implementation.

At the session, President of the Kosovo Assembly Dusan Ristic said that a very important job had been brought to an end in which thousands of working people and citizens, members of all nations and nationalities of Kosovo had taken part. They accepted with enthusiasm Tito's initiative on collective work, decision-making and responsibility, just as they always accepted with enthusiasm all his words and messages, Ristic said. Today, although in complex conditions and extraordinary circumstances, we reaffirm our consistence and our loyalty to Tito and his deed, he underlined.

Tito's initiative is embodied in the Yugoslav Consitution and, in this spirit, the adoption of amendments to the constitutions of the Yugoslav republics and provinces is underway.

Ristic said that the amendments to the provincial constitution were being promulgated in a situation burdened with the effects of hostile and counterrevolutionary actions by Albanian nationalist and irredentist elements. He underlined that the Provincial Assembly had not yet done everything which it was bound to do under the constitution. The major part of the activities for a full and permanent stabilization of the situation in the province must be completed in the coming period, he said. To succeed in this, noted Ristic, a deeper critical analysis should be made of the work of the Provincial Assembly, Executive Council and administration bodies in order to perceive all the shortcomings and determine both the personal responsibility of functionaries, and their share in collective responsibility for the recent events. This will all have to be done by the end of this month at the latest, Ristic said.

KICEVO SAWP SESSION DISCUSSES KOSOVO EVENTS

LD102022 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1531 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Summary] Kicevo, 10 Jul (TANJUG)--Today's electoral conference of the SAWP of Kicevo conducted a critical review of 1 year of its activity and adopted the program for next year. At the session, the delegates dealt in particular with the events in Kosovo which had also been reflected in some hostile actions in Kicevo municipality. In addition to condemning Albanian nationalism, the delegates also advocated a resolute settling of accounts with exponents of enemy activities in this municipality. Indoctrinated nationalists in Kicevo directed their enemy activity chiefly toward the sphere of education and culture. As a form of their activity they boycotted the subject of Macedonian language at the secondary education center, sang songs with a nationalistic content, used literature from Pristina which is not in line with the syllabus in Macedonia, and so forth. A certain number of exponents of these phenomena have been uncovered and punished by ideoeducational and legal measures. A total of 18 educational workers have been punished and 9 of them have been expelled from the League of Communists.

ALBANIAN EDUCATION IN MACEDONIA CRITICIZED

Textbooks Unacceptable

LD141820 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0938 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Summary] Skopje, 14 July (TANJUG)--A survey of textbooks and of auxiliary literature in Macedonia for pupils and students receiving instruction in the Albanian language, prepared by the republican Secretariat for Science and Education at the request of the Macedonian Assembly delegates shows that they contain passages which glorify alien and unacceptable ideas that run counter to our socialist self-management society. They made it possible for Albanian nationalistic, irredentist and counterrevolutionary tendencies and manifestations to come to the fore in some environments and educational organizations in this republic.

The officials of this secretariat carried out a survey of all textbooks and auxiliary literature used for instruction in Albanian and where these manifestations were noted, the books were asked to be withdrawn from use.

It was noted that the Skopje college of education students who study the Albanian language and literature do not learn the literature of Yugoslav nations and nationalities throughout their studies.

In some educational organizations some teachers and secondary school pupils of Albanian nationality used textbooks and auxiliary literature which were not sanctioned for use in Macedonia and were printed in Tirana. For instance, history for the first year of secondary education was published in Pristina and not approved as a textbook in this republic. The history of Albanian literature for first to fourth forms of secondary education is by one Sutereci from Albania.

It was noted that unnecessary prominence was given to authors writing in Albanian. The time of Skenderbeg is overemphasized and the activity of the Prizren League is presented inaccurately. There have also been untruths and non-Marxist interpretations of individual events, especially with regard to the role of religion and of the church in history.

There have also been cases when politically unsuitable people were employed in some educational establishments in which instruction is in Albanian. Such people exercized a negative ideological influence in the educational process. Appropriate measures are being taken to review this question from every possible angle.

More Criticism

LD142052 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1409 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] Skopje, 14 Jul (TANJUG)--The delegates of three committees of the Macedonian Assembly chambers--the committees for the sociopolitical system; for education, science and culture; and for sociopolitical relations--attended today's joint session unanimous in their estimation that certain phenomena are in evidence in the educational and teaching activity of members of the Albanian nationality in this republic which are not in accord with our social and ideopolitical orientations. These phenomena are most often expressed in individual teaching plans and programs, in some textbooks and [word indistinct] literature, and also in the professional and moral-political and pedagogical qualities of a certain sector of the teaching and education cadre. Inconsistency and omissions have been manifested in the realization of the teaching and educational activities, in particular from the ideological and educational point of view. These phenomena, the delegates underlined, have facilitated the coming to expression of the nationalist, irredentist and counterrevolutionary tendencies from positions of Albanian chauvinism in certain environments in educational and teaching organizations.

A report of the republican Secretariat for Science and Education was adopted, dealing with certain states of affairs concerning the carrying out of educational and teaching activity conducted in Albanian. Attention was drawn to the need to reexamine and analyze teaching plans and programs in this language. Demands were expressed that education inspectors in this republic should at once seek out and remove textbooks and literature which have not been approved, or which have not been proposed by the competent authorities. It was requested that the direct pedagogical inspection of the educational and teaching operation of the Albanian teaching language be intensified. It is also necessary to establish which educational cadres in this sphere of activity are not fulfilling the legal conditions for carrying out educational and teaching activities.

A revision of the teaching programs and textbooks, that is, of everything bearing the character of chauvinist, nationalist and irredentist content which does not accord with the building of our self-managing socialist society, has been called for before the start of the new school year. Teachers of Albanian nationality who have previously been convicted, or against whom ideoeducational measures have been taken because of their hostile activities from positions of greater Albanian nationalism and irredentism, should not, in the opinion of the assembly delegates, be employed in educational and teaching institutions. The delegates demanded, in addition, that the culprits should be found who permitted the textbooks to be printed, and who carry out an educational and teaching process conducted in Albanian which is not in the spirit of our orientations.

The Prosvetno Delo publishing house in Skopje was called to account for printing textbooks and auxiliary literature in Albanian, and for reprinting editions from Pristina and the People's Republic of Albania such as present material with nationalistic and irredentist contents.

It was proposed that the republican Secretariat for Science and Education should draw up an analysis on the teaching and educational activity in Macedonia in the Albanian language. Practice has shown that the number of hours of Macedonian, and also the quality of teaching of Macedonian, should be increased in primary schools and in secondary school classes taught in Albanian.

The Commission for Intranational Relations of the Macedonian Assembly, as its session today chaired by Spirko Spirkovski, also reviewed the report on certain states of affairs concerning the carrying out of educational and teaching activity conducted in Albanian. The commission considered that this report constitutes an attempt to take a realistic view of the state of affairs in this sphere in primary schools, in secondary vocational schools and in other secondary education.

MACEDONIAN SAWP VIEWS ANTI-MUSLIM ACTIVITIES

LD142030 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1730 GMT 14 Jul 81

["Enemy Activity During Census-taking on Macedonia"--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Skopje, 14 Jul (TANJUG)--The Presidency of the Socialist Alliance of the Yugoslav Constituent Republic of Macedonia, at its session today, assessed the recent census in the republic, a part of the Yugoslavia-wide census, as mainly successful.

During the census-taking, however, attempts were made in some communes, mainly in the republic's west, to influence the declaration of national membership on the part of the population. There were instances of individual Albanian nationalists negating the existence of Muslim-Macedonians, i.e., the population of Macedonian nationality coverted to Islam during the Turkish rule in the Balkans. They had in the past mainly declared themselves as Macedonians.

During the recent census, there were attempts at exerting pressure on this grouping. It was claimed that they would be forbidden to practice their faith and would be forcibly converted if they declared themselves as Muslim-Macedonians. Pressure was also put on the Romanies and there were instances of pressure on members of the Turkish nationality. Some Muslim religious community clergymen of Albanian nationality were engaged in this activity.

During the census, leaflets were distributed in some environments in the attempt to influence and [words indistinct] population in declaring its national membership. The figures on the Macedonian population's national membership will be announced by the end of this year, it was noted at today's session of the Macedonian Socialist Alliance.